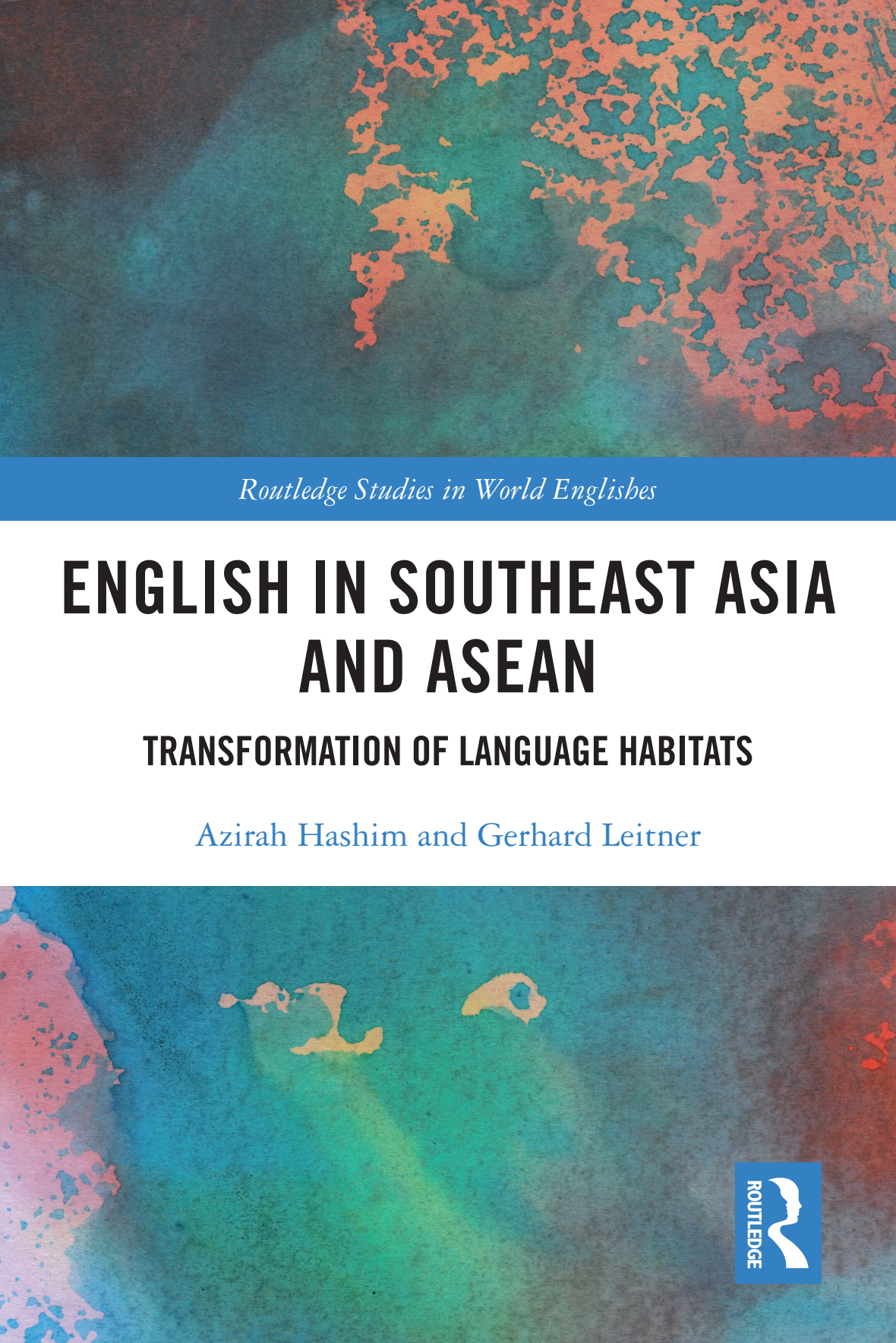




Routledge Studies in World Englishes

ENGLISH IN SOUTHEAST ASIA AND ASEAN

TRANSFORMATION OF LANGUAGE HABITATS

Azirah Hashim and Gerhard Leitner



English in Southeast Asia and ASEAN

English in Southeast Asia and ASEAN embeds English in its various regional Southeast Asian and political ASEAN language habitats. Addressing the history, developmental stages and contacts with other languages, it provides in-depth information on the region and its political organization. In doing so, it analyzes the geo-political division of the region between former Anglophone and non-Anglophone colonies and shows that this distinction has led to considerable differences in the status and texture of English. This analysis includes the role and impact of American English in mainland and maritime Southeast Asia to highlight the linguistic properties of English and its linguistic and sociopolitical development, English used in specific domains, language policies and concludes with the future of English and future challenges. This book therefore provides an integrative survey of the various roles of English in ASEAN member states and studies the transformation of entire language habitats, including the major national and regional languages that participate in this process. It also explains how new societies emerge with their conflicting identities and their aspirations to act regionally or even globally and is a valuable resource for scholars and students in the fields of World Englishes, Asian Studies and those interested in language contact, policy and planning.

Azirah Hashim is a Professor in the English Language Department, Faculty of Languages and Linguistics, University of Malaya and was, until recently, Executive Director of the Asia-Europe Institute and Director of the Centre for ASEAN Regionalism.

Gerhard Leitner is a Professor in the Institut für Englische Philologie at the Freie Universität Berlin. He is a specialist of varieties of English in South and Southeast Asia, and Australia, as well as of English as a global language. He has been Visiting Professor in Malaysia, Singapore, India, China and Australia.

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First published 2021
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge
52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

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British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Azirah Hashim, author. | Leitner, Gerhard, 1944- author.

Title: English in Southeast Asia and ASEAN: transformation of language habitats / Azirah Hashim and Gerhard Leitner.

Description: Abingdon, Oxon; New York, NY: Routledge, 2020. | Series: Routledge studies in world Englishes | Includes bibliographical references and index. | Summary: "English in Southeast Asia and ASEAN embeds English in its various regional Southeast Asian and political ASEAN language habitats. Addressing the history, developmental stages and contacts with other languages, it provides in-depth information on the region and its political organisation. In doing so, it analyses the geo-political division of the region between former Anglophone and non-Anglophone colonies and shows that this distinction has led to considerable differences in the status and texture of English. This analysis includes the role and impact of American English in mainland and maritime Southeast Asia to highlight the linguistic properties of English and its linguistic and sociopolitical development, English used in specific domains, language policies and concludes with the future of English and future challenges. This book therefore provides an integrative survey of the various roles of English in ASEAN member states and studies the transformation of entire language habitats, including the major national and regional languages that participate in this process. It also explains how new societies emerge with their conflicting identities and their aspirations to act regionally or even globally. A valuable resource for scholars and students in the fields of world Englishes, Asian studies and those interested in language contact, policy and planning" -- Provided by publisher.

Identifiers: LCCN 2020024485 (print) | LCCN 2020024486 (ebook) | ISBN 9781138105300 (hardback) | ISBN 9781315101842 (ebook)

Subjects: LCSH: English language--Dialects--Southeast Asia. | English language--Study and teaching--Southeast Asia.

Classification: LCC PE3502.S65 A95 2020 (print) | LCC PE3502.S65 (ebook) | DDC 427/.959--dc23

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2020024485>

LC ebook record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2020024486>

ISBN: 978-1-138-10530-0 (hbk)

ISBN: 978-1-315-10184-2 (ebk)

Typeset in Times New Roman

by Deanta Global Publishing Services, Chennai, India

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Preface

English in Asia has been called the one, if not the key variety of English, that will influence English in the future (e.g., Graddol 1997, 2006). Varieties of *Asian English* figure prominently in models such as Kachru's three circles model of English (Kachru 1992) and in Schneider's dynamic model (Schneider 2007). English is seen as the major language in sociopolitical transformations across many polities in Asia. Southeast Asia (SEA) experiences a considerable growth of studies on English in general in Singapore, Malaysia, the Philippines and Brunei (e.g., Low and Azirah 2012; Lim et al. 2010; Noor Azam et al. 2016; Tupas 2018) and its use in specific domains like the law, advertising, the media and other domains (Asmah Haji Omar 2012; Azirah and Powell 2011; Powell 2020; Martin 2019). However, there is a dearth of studies of ASEAN member states like Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar and Vietnam, and integrative state-of-the art studies on the region and Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) are largely missing. An exception to this generalization is the important domain of educational language policy (e.g., Leitner 2014; Azirah and Leitner 2016; Kirkpatrick and Liddicoat 2019). In addition, there are a few studies of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) in ASEAN (Kirkpatrick 2010, 2011, 2012).

English in SEA and ASEAN is embedded in a wide range of languages habitats and performs quite different functions. In terms of development, English would be marked by language contact features and acquisition errors and it would have reached different stages in Schneider's (2003) dynamic model but not yet the final full-norm-developing one. In terms of Leitner's (2004) habitat model, English would only be at the peak of a language pyramid in Singapore while it would 'compete' with or complement local or national languages elsewhere. Only in the education domain and a few social contexts would it stand out above other languages. There would be no single norm orientation model in SEA and ASEAN and the best is to argue for bi-dialectalism (Azirah and Leitner 2014).

Although at different stages of nation-building, all ASEAN member countries of today aspire to become integrated nations and to be regional and global players with partners within ASEAN and beyond. While a tussle between English and other languages can be seen in all countries, English is promoted as a vehicle of empowerment and participation from an ASEAN and global angle. Within novel, multilingual and cultural spaces, it is being used for multiple functions as

a second, foreign or even first language and is accepted as the lingua franca for regional and global purposes. With all this comes a communicative network in ASEAN and beyond with rapidly expanding regional and global tourism, economy, media, education and research networks, as well as cross-border university training networks and these will generate a new dimension of English.

What gives this book a particular urgency is that ASEAN is recognized in political science, economics and comparative studies as well as international relations analyses (e.g., Archarya 2000; Lee and Zarina Othman 2017) as a most dynamic, large and successful region worldwide. ASEAN rests on three ‘pillars’, the third of which includes sociocultural issues and communication. English is mentioned throughout as essential and local languages as desirable in policy documents in ASEAN but statements remain inconsequential.

Research into English and its current texture and place in national habitats and into its development has become even more important as ASEAN became a community in 2015 leading to increasing academic interest in this part of the world. As a result of its expansion and its embeddedness in multilingual languages habitats, new varieties have emerged that belong to Kachru’s (1992) Outer Circle countries in the former colonies or protectorates of Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei and the Philippines. These varieties may well get exported to the other ASEAN countries through networks of cooperation, knowledge transfer and training within the region. Therefore it is not just British, American or Australian English that people are exposed to but different varieties in complex multilingual and functionally differentiated settings (Azirah and Leitner 2014; Leitner 2014).

There is a regional lingua franca at the level of educated speakers whose properties have been investigated mainly in a large-scale international project on English in Asia (Kirkpatrick 2012). Even at more informal and less educated spoken levels, one can notice family relationships between, say, Cambodian or Laotian uses of English and Malaysian English. The changing higher education landscape is also one major domain in the increasing importance in the study of English in the region. Regional and global mobility has facilitated inter-institutional exchanges across national boundaries and influenced government policies towards international students. The numerous inter-ASEAN networks in various fields play an important role in regional integration. This book aims to fill the interdisciplinary space on English in its multilingual habitats in the geographic region of SEA and in the political framework of ASEAN and feed into and integrate past and ongoing research. That would be useful for research, teaching and policy debates and also in comparative studies.

This book embeds English in its various regional SEA and political ASEAN languages habitats. It addresses its history, developmental stages and contacts with other languages and provides in-depth information on the region and its political organization. It highlights the linguistic properties of English and its linguistic and sociopolitical development, English used in specific domains, language policies and concludes with the future of English and future challenges. It therefore provides an integrative survey of the various roles of English in ASEAN member states. The difference we make to available research is that we consider

it essential to study the transformation of entire language habitats and include, at least, major national and regional languages that participate in this process. New societies emerge with their conflicting identities and their aspirations to act regionally or even globally. New regional entities emerge, such as ASEAN (with its dependent organizations) in SEA, in East Asia or in Central Asia. There are more focuses, dependent institutions such as in Asia's media industry. The Pacific opens up perspectives to the United States.

This book begins with **Chapter 1**, an introduction to SEA and ASEAN. It outlines the main themes of the book and touches on the following: a short survey of the geographic region and its historical, political, economic, cultural background; the development of ASEAN; the implantation of English; the different forms of English that have emerged in the region and sociopolitical issues related to language policy as well as challenges faced.

Chapter 2 covers the topic of the transformation of local language habitats. This chapter spells out in greater detail aspects of SEA and ASEAN that bear upon language issues and especially English and that will be described and discussed in subsequent chapters. It surveys the geographic region of SEA and its component countries from a macro-socio-linguistic perspective, and their ethnic and linguistic diversity. It then turns to ASEAN, its political and economic 'umbrella', which shifts the discussion to a new sociopolitical and global perspective.

Situating SEA inside the ASEAN context, it is quite a large land (but also very maritime) region with a population of over 600 million in ten countries (Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei, the Philippines, Myanmar, Laos, Vietnam, Cambodia, Thailand, Indonesia), leaving aside Timor Leste. Historically, the region has been a site of cultural developments, migrations, co-operation and exchanges, conflicts, colonial intruders and foreign governments such as Portugal, the Netherlands, Spain, Britain, USA and Japan. They all have left their traces, especially their languages. It has been a site of ethnic mobility and power such as from India, China, Arabia and the Middle East. Political affiliations such as Communism have brought in Russian and Mandarin.

With the foundation of ASEAN, SEA has become a large regional political body that is successful economically and in many other domains. It aims to form a more integrated polity resting on 'three pillars' (politics and security; economy; sociocultural area) and has reached out into Asia (e.g., ASEAN+3 with Korea, Japan, China) and into the Pacific (ASEAN+6 with Australia, New Zealand and India). It has engaged in partnerships in the Americas and Europe and is staking its claims in region-building in Asia ('ASEAN First' or 'ASEAN Centrality').

As this dynamic geographic, historical and political entity has made English its foremost working language and as the former Malayan sultanates (and now Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei) and the Philippines have been Anglophone colonies, SEA and ASEAN raise a range of linguistic and (educational) language issues that can and indeed need to be investigated. They are of interest in and for themselves, for the geo-political region and its place globally and contribute to the study of English and other languages.

Chapter 3 discusses the history of English in SEA. It provides information on the transformation of the region as a result of colonialism by Portugal, Spain, the Netherlands, and France and on the history of English from early British and American colonialism till today. Transforming SEA's language habitats, SEA is not described in terms of current polities (e.g., Kirkpatrick 2010) but as a cluster of older polities (sultanates, Java, Burma, etc.) that have transformed into their modern polities as a result of developments such as the two World Wars, decolonization, the foundation and role of ASEAN and their outreach. SEA and the world at large are dealt with from the angle of their impact on the development of English.

This historically more accurate perspective requires a link to the historical and current impact of ethnicities, religions, cultures, etc. and the use of English in ASEAN and national governments today. The chapter ends with a typology of forms of English as a (functional) native, a second and a foreign language, as well as its uses as a lingua franca. It shows how its expansion has impacted on earlier habitats. The literature goes well beyond the one cited and leads into a discussion of the major contexts in which English has been implanted and develops.

Chapter 4 describes the texture and features of English in selected countries in SEA. In describing characteristics of national and colloquial forms of English, we turned to some studies of their usage and distinctive features of a few varieties of English in the region. We have tended to highlight features of mainly colloquial forms rather than standard versions in older studies and more recent studies. Most of the research has been carried out on Singapore English (SgpE), Malaysian English (MalE), Philippine English (PhlE) and to some extent Brunei English (BruE). Some comparisons are made if features are not unique to a particular variety. MalE and SgE features overlap to a considerable degree given their common sociopolitical history and make-up of the population. On the other hand, given that both countries went their separate ways in 1965, there is also sociolinguistic differentiation in terms of language policy and substrate language influences (e.g., Baskaran 2008a; Low and Azirah 2012). BruE has some features in common with these two varieties given the similar ethnic make-up of the country, shared history and its location close to East Malaysia. PhlE, although a former Anglophone country too, its phonology and other features may be skewed towards American English due to its American roots. Its long colonization by the Spanish also sees several Spanish words entering into PhlE through Tagalog. There is limited discussion on English in some of the ASEAN countries which have not yet developed strong varieties of English. We highlighted some unique phonological and grammatical features and some which are common across different varieties. Particles appear to be commonly used especially in SgpE and MalE and are borrowed from languages that are spoken in these countries. Comparisons of features across varieties also indicate that when donor languages are shared like the languages associated with religion, cross-local layers in a habitat's participating languages may produce an internal segmentation of, or division between, religious communities. Some nations may experience processes of integration that could lead to common developments in the transformation of language habitats (Leitner 2014).

We then proceed with **Chapter 5** on language contact and developmental factors of English in SEA. The previous chapter suggests a major role of contact with other local languages and of factors to do with language-learning processes in diverse habitats. It also suggests a division of SEA between the continental land-mass, including Indonesia, and the maritime archipelago of former Anglophone colonies. With the exception of former Burma, the countries located in the former have not been under British colonial rule but Dutch and others. There are other factors like religion, with Islam being the religion of the majority especially in Indonesia, Malaysia and Brunei, and Buddhism and Christianity the main religions in the other countries. Language contact of English with other languages has been most intensive in the maritime Anglophone region (excluding Myanmar) where English was embedded reasonably deeply and was acquired and used outside education. It is here that it has developed dynamically (see Schneider 2007) and where language-learning features did not fossilize as easily. In northern SEA, English was implanted more recently (needing a special mention of Myanmar and Thailand) and contact was less focused on national languages in more fluid languages habitats. Given that it is mainly learnt in educational contexts, an exo-normative orientation prevails and the functions of English are mainly those typical of a foreign language. We also draw on our own research on contact with Arabic as a language of religion.

We develop a profile of English that reflects the language contact scenarios in countries like Singapore, the Philippines and Malaysia as against that in Vietnam, Cambodia and Indonesia. Looking more deeply at foreign language contexts we can illustrate the situation in islands off Singapore to see the contact with second language varieties.

Chapter 6 turns to English in a selection of domains, one being the legal domain, in particular, law courts – common law and Syariah – and arbitration, and another, the domain of advertising. It thus opens up a textual dimension on English in SEA but also illustrates very precisely the exo- and endo-normative orientation of English and its hybrid character. Research on language in the legal domain in SEA has been quite scarce with some research mainly in Malaysia and to some extent, the Philippines. In the advertising domain, most research is found in Malaysia, Thailand and the Philippines. We begin with English in the legal domain and start with some background to the legal systems in the region. The ten ASEAN countries have had different colonial legacies and this can be seen in the legal systems established in each country. We present data from Malaysian courts, common law and Syariah as well as data from arbitration proceedings. We then turn to another country, which has carried out initiatives to move away from English in the courtrooms, the Philippines. English has been the major language in the courts although it is not the national language. From law, we move on to an informal domain, that of advertising, to see how English is used in a few selected countries in ASEAN. Studies have been carried out on radio and print advertisements where an interesting mix of English with other languages can be seen. If English can be said to be used pragmatically in law courts (for reasons like it has a richer technical vocabulary, that judges and lawyers received their training in

Britain or the USA, or have a higher level of competence in English), its use in commercial advertising is emotive and persuasive.

Chapter 7 deals with an area which has received increasing attention, English as a lingua franca. This book so far has shown how English was embedded in SEA's language habitats, how it has nativized in some and its spreading to others, the non-Anglophone former colonies and new countries. But it maintains a double norm-orientation, partly accepting localization and partly pursuing an exo-normative orientation. Despite an orientation on native norms, it is mainly used in formal political and ASEAN contexts with their complementary institutions and their activities as a lingua franca. The analysis in this chapter uses data from the Asian Corpus of English. We examine the roles of English in ASEAN and ask whether English, when it is spoken by people from different ASEAN countries when they meet, is just a collection of different (national) varieties they use at home or whether it possesses characteristics that make the term *ASEAN English* a useful or even necessary one. We illustrate the hybridity of English in SEA. We show how former colonial status need not be a strong asset and non-colonial status paired with excellent foreign language teaching, as in the Netherlands, Finland, etc., could well compensate for weaknesses. There is some literature on ELF (e.g., Kirkpatrick 2010, 2012) but overall there are large research gaps.

Chapter 8 is on language policies and issues in education with a survey of all ten countries given. The political and language development of SEA and ASEAN suggests that educational language policies and planning figure prominently in national policies, often overthrowing previous requirements such as in Laos or Vietnam. But even in former Anglophone colonies the situation is far from easy and Malaysia is a case in point with the role of English and the medium of instruction policy shifting forward and backward. We describe the national, regional and international language ecologies and discuss the challenges faced in implementing language policies in the countries of the region, in particular, in relation to English and English language education. We also mention attempts at implementing policies towards the use of mother tongues and local languages as can be seen happening in a number of countries. Regarding the status of English, all countries have taken different paths on the basis of some widely shared attitudes. The one-nation-one-language ideology and the pragmatic rationale for language learning have combined in many ASEAN nations to exert the pressure of language policy that has often conflicted with the multilingual realities of these nations. This has led to the promotion of a few languages as national languages. Yet English has been acknowledged as playing a vital role in the development of an ASEAN identity.

The book ends with a chapter on the future of English and future challenges, **Chapter 9**. This book has taken up the geo-political division of the region between former Anglophone and non-Anglophone colonies and has shown that this distinction has led to considerable differences in the status and texture of English. To meet current global challenges, non-colonies with their exo-normative orientation may have an advantage provided teaching and learning of English is done well as some European countries like Sweden or the Netherlands show. On the

other hand, ASEAN provides considerable exposure to postcolonial SEA forms of English that exert outside exposure and pressure to acceptance. Some linguists like Leitner (2014) indeed argue for a regional form of English in SEA and ELF may show reflections of regional properties. It will be of interest to pursue that theme in future research.

It will be equally interesting to see if ASEAN will follow the EU and the Council of Europe to some extent and emphasize the teaching and use of SEA languages in education and cross-border communication as maintained in some ASEAN policy plans. Or it gives way to the geo-political roadmap suggested, for example, by China's OBOR (One Belt One Road), which would promote Mandarin. Mandarin has considerable power as an ethnic language in the region. In other words, there are forces that affect the manifestations of English and its position overall and that will have repercussions in language policies. They are spelt out in this final chapter.

We wish to conclude with our expressions of thanks and appreciation: Azirah Hashim expresses thanks and gratitude to the University of Malaya for granting a sabbatical leave and research leave in 2019/2020; Free University Berlin for a research visit in 2019; Centre for the Study of Language and Society, University of Bern for a research attachment in 2019/2020; and Trinity Long Room Hub Arts and Humanities Institute, Trinity College Dublin for a research fellowship in 2020. Gerhard Leitner expresses his thanks to the University of Malaya that allowed him to pursue his research there in the context of teaching and lecturing.

Abbreviations

ACE	Asian Corpus of English
AFTA	ASEAN Free Trade Agreement
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
AUN	ASEAN University Network
BEP	Bilingual Education Policy
BrE	British English
BruE	Bruneian English
CILT	Centre for Industrial Language Training (London)
CME	Colloquial Malaysian English
DAAD	(<i>for</i>) German Academic Exchange Service
EF	English First (an American company)
EFL	English as a Foreign Language
EIC	East India Company
ELF	English as a Lingua Franca
ENL	English as a Native Language
EU	European Union
IndoE	Indonesian English
MalE	Malaysian English
MRA	Mutual Recognition Arrangement
MTB-MLE	Mother Tongue-Based Multilingual Education
NEA	National Education Act
PhilE	Philippine English
RELC	Regional English Language Centre (Singapore)
RIHED	Regional Centre for Higher Education and Development
RP	Received Pronunciation
SEA	Southeast Asia
SEAMO	Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organisation
SgE	<i>see</i> SgpE
SgpE	Singaporean English
SHARE	Support to Higher Education in the ASEAN Region
SME	Standard Malaysian English

ThaiE	Thailand English
TOEFL	Teaching of English as a Foreign Language
UNTAC	United Nations Transitional Authority (Cambodia)
VietE	Vietnam English
WEF	World Economic Forum

Acknowledgements

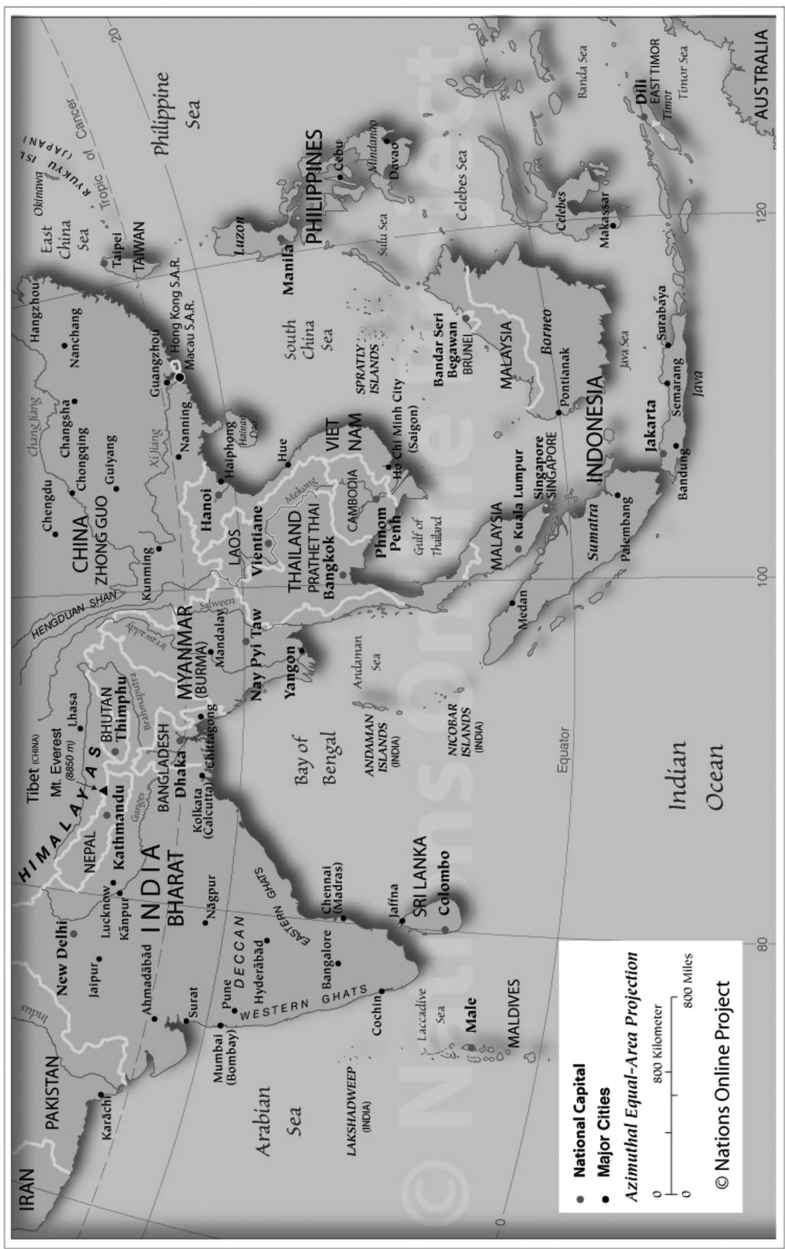
The author would like to thank Alice Vittrant and Justin Watkins and de Gruyter for their permission to reproduce their materials.

1 English and local languages in Southeast Asia and ASEAN

Southeast Asia (SEA) extends over a large maritime and continental area with diversity in demography, religions and languages. The continental part is situated on the east coast of the Bay of Bengal, on the one hand, and the west coast of South China Sea, on the other. It forms a considerable landmass south of China with the countries of Myanmar, Laos, Vietnam, Thailand, Cambodia, Malaysia and Singapore. Further south, in the Indian Ocean and South China Sea is a chain of several thousand islands comprising from west to east Indonesia, and further east another chain from north to south, the Philippines. Indonesia's largest island is Sumatra in the west, then Java and a series of smaller islands eastward. Borneo – with Eastern Malaysia and Brunei, the final SEA country to be named here – is situated in the north of Java. East Timor is at the eastern tip of the island of Timor and acquired independence from Indonesia in 2002. Politically, there are the ten countries just mentioned, all of which belong to the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), except for East Timor (*see* Map 1.1). Some geo-political and linguistic accounts of the region include Hong Kong in SEA or, reciprocally, SEA is seen as a part of East Asia. The reasons for this refer to colonial European history in Asia. We will treat SEA as a geographic and geo-political term for the ten countries and ASEAN as its contemporary geo-political term for the region.

In this Introduction, we will deal with both SEA and ASEAN to outline the major themes of this book. Given the history of the region, one should expect a tremendous amount of multilingualism (that will be surveyed in the next chapter) and be intrigued that so many outside languages have played a considerable role in the development of the various languages and the (national) language ecologies or habitats. English is the most powerful external language today, though it will be considered an 'Asian' language in this book (*see* Kirkpatrick 2014). It is natural to focus on English – its roots, its development, the rise of English as a *Lingua Franca* (ELF) and its future along with its potential impact on global English. We will highlight the role of the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) as this regional organization is so relevant to the spread and future of English.

SEA has always been at the crossroads of migrations, religions, trade and politically powerful countries. A succession of migrations several thousand years ago created the ethnic, religious and, above all, linguistic landscape with five



Map 1.1 Southeast Asia and ASEAN

language families that overlap in different parts of the region and connect it with other regions of Asia and Oceania. That geo-political and linguistic landscape accounts for the language base that colonial languages and English have entered and will be described in the following chapter. From the 4th to the 13th century, Java and coastal areas along the South China Sea were part of an extensive Asian economic, political and cultural network that connected southern China with Southeast and South Asia, the Middle East and East Africa (Wade 2009, 2010). Indian kingdoms such as the Srivijaya kingdom, whose centre is believed to have been in eastern Sumatra, and religions like Buddhism and Hinduism expanded into SEA and the Pacific. Along with migrations they created Indian minorities in, e.g., the Malay polities, and majorities like in Fiji. Indian languages and especially Sanskrit and Pali became important in a number of countries across SEA. Indian influence continued till modern times and impacted on Laotian, Thai, Khmer and Malay. The Sanskrit writing system was used and adapted locally from the early 8th century. In Malaya it was replaced by a modified Arabic script called Jawi in the early 14th century. Indian inscriptions are scarce but are the few sources that testify to the old form of Malay and the pervasive Indian influence on Malaya (Asmah 1982).

Chinese political power, its religions and languages expanded from two directions. One is very old and was a southward movement into SEA. China controlled a good part of Vietnam for nearly 1,000 years. Southern Chinese languages such as Hokkien made inroads into that part of SEA. China also gained influence through its participation in the Asian trade network referred to later and through migrations that led to minorities in a number of coastal regions on the way.

Arabic is another incoming Asian language though it came much later. Its first influence came during the pre-Islamic period as Arabs controlled a good deal of the trade and the ports on the way back to the Middle East. Arabs constituted ethnic communities such as in Singapore and Indonesia. The spread of Islam added a second dimension to its use in SEA's south which is still important today: the religion. Its influence went deep and a modified Arabic script called Jawi replaced the earlier Indian script of Malay in the 14th century. It was superseded by the Roman script in the 17th century.

Following explorations in the 15th century, European trade and colonization began in the 16th century when Portugal conquered Malacca in 1511. Portuguese was now used in various locations. In the 17th century, the Netherlands created numerous trading posts on Indonesian islands and wrought control from the Portuguese. That introduced Dutch even though it was largely confined to Dutch enclaves. Its wider spread came later. Missionary activities were often carried out alongside trade and colonization. That brought Catholicism to Spanish, Portuguese and French occupations and Protestant denominations to British and American colonies. Malacca is a case in point. It was a Portuguese possession up to 1641, when the Dutch took over. In 1824 it became British and was amalgamated with Penang and Singapore in the Federated States of Malaya. Java changed hands between the Dutch and British twice before the Dutch-British Treaty of 1824 ended the aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars. In the 19th century, English (as

4 *English and local languages in Southeast Asia*

well as other European languages) were firmly implanted in SEA (see Chapter Three). The northern region, i.e., Laos, Vietnam and Cambodia, formed French Indo-China, while former Burma became British after three Anglo-Burmese Wars in the 19th century. The Philippines was Spanish until after the Spanish-American War in 1898 when it was taken over by the United States of America. Their role was larger in East and Southeast Asia and will be referred to in Chapter Three. Thailand was the only country that could avoid colonization thanks to successful policies with regard to Britain, the Netherlands, France and the United States. It was also the first country where English played a role as a foreign language in the 19th century.

SEA became a war site in the two World Wars to obstruct and end Germany's activities there and in the 1940s, those of Japan. The role of Great Britain largely ended temporarily with the British defeat in Singapore. SEA became an anti-Communist buffer during much of the Cold War and a site of numerous local conflicts. The Chinese Revolution and the Soviet Union created fear and Russian and Mandarin became important foreign languages in Indo-China. Opposition, independence movements and decolonization created the countries of today. Indonesia was the first country to become independent at the end of World War II in Asia in 1945. East Timor is the last country when it could secede from Indonesia in 1999. While some countries maintained close ties with former colonizing countries like Great Britain, others entered partnerships with, for instance, China and the Soviet Union. Over the years such partnerships weakened as independence movements and global institutions like the UN, the World Bank or the International Monetary Fund became more prominent. Moreover they are partly responsible for the growth of the English Language Teaching (ELT) industry across SEA. Some of the developments referred to are very old and some have influenced English in the 19th century and are recorded in, for instance, the *Oxford English Dictionary*, *Hobson-Jobson* (1886) or in the records of the East India Company (EIC), which are housed in the British Library (n.d.) (see Chapter Seven). That leads into the last period to be mentioned presently.

Before the end of the Vietnam War in 1975, Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia and the Philippines had formed ASEAN, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN 1967). Like the European Union, ASEAN was founded as a peace and development project open to other SEA countries. When wars had ended, all remaining SEA countries were gradually admitted as members. SEA nations and ASEAN soon entered into global interactions which strengthened the integrative pull especially when one of its pillars, the sociocultural one, was focused on. ASEAN opted for English-only as its working language without discussion, a decision that was formalized in its charter in 2007. No SEA language or other former colonial languages like French were ever seriously discussed as alternatives or additional options for widening the language regime.

From a contemporary European (or, possibly, global) perspective, interest in SEA ranks well behind that in China and Japan politically, economically and educationally. Until the end of the 20th century, SEA countries were considered developing countries while China and Japan had already achieved high growth

rates and had become members of the developed world. Some countries have traditionally been of interest. As for Germany, Indonesia attracted attention because half of the early government ministers had been educated at German universities and some spoke German. While this is no longer the case, a traditional focus on that country can easily be seen, for instance, in the statistics of student and professorial mobility with German universities. For the Netherlands, Indonesia was a former colony and tens of thousands of Indonesians came as immigrants. Singapore has attracted a lot of attention as the most successful SEA country. And so has Malaysia now. Malaysia has been sending many government-sponsored students to the UK for further studies since the 1970s and many Malaysians have their children educated in schools there or in the USA, New Zealand and Australia. In France, the descendant countries of Indo-China have retained attention and led to current political and cultural activities. And so have the former British colonies in Britain and the Philippines in the United States.

On a very different level, tourism and the export of raw materials have become major promoters of contacts and activities that spread knowledge about the region worldwide. The rising middle-income classes and a highly educated elite, of course, also continue to generate contacts. Thailand has ranked high in trade since the early 18th century. Now, Myanmar and Cambodia are picking up. Vietnam became successful after the Vietnam War (1955–1975) and so did Laos and Myanmar after the defeat of nationalist movements. The region as a whole, however, was not on the agenda and it took up to the 1970s for the European Union to intensify its links with ASEAN (*see* Ziegenhain 2018). Formal relations between the EU and ASEAN go back to 1977 and have continued to deepen ever since. ASEM, the Asia-Europe Meeting founded in 1996, includes SEA and is a cornerstone in intergovernmental relations between these two continents. ASEF, the Asia-Europe Foundation, followed in 1997. The economic and the higher education domain are central domains of cooperation. And while English is the accepted working language, a number of European countries are making efforts to promote their national languages in a multiplicity of ways. France, for instance, has created French cultural agents with Alliance Française, especially in former Indo-China. Germany has its Goethe Institutes and a number of party political foundations which became active in various SEA countries. Together, they support the use of English in bilateral and European-ASEAN interactions and promote other European languages in education. Very important are the spin-offs of ASEAN into the societies of member states as they are deepening its relationships with ASEAN's programs. The ASEAN University Network and the ASEAN Regional Forum are two such examples. Beyond a European angle, we must mention a global angle related to China's increasing assertiveness and its OBOR program. Its dubious claim that the entire landmass bordering the South China Sea belongs to it makes SEA a critical area for the security of and free trade with the region and threatens SEA and ASEAN's regional development. English will no doubt be further advanced and strengthened.

Turning to languages, independence and nation-building required the selection and codification of one or more languages as national ones and the development

of acquisition strategies in educational policies. ASEAN as a regional body took different decisions from the European Union and avoided a conflict with and between national languages by not taking one language for each member as an official or working language. ASEAN chose English as the only official and working language and its practices have created a push inside its member states to promote English for all citizens. This has led to a language hierarchy significantly different from the European Union. We will return to that topic in several chapters, especially Chapter Eight. But let us anticipate by saying that some languages like Thai, Malay or Burmese have had a long history in their environments, have writing systems of their own, and have interacted with other SEA languages, with Chinese, Indian languages and, of course, with colonial languages in modern times. Local languages reflect the intricate patterns of the changing political and cultural climates in which they have developed.

Very different forms of English have emerged in SEA from the ones it inherited from its colonial past (*see* Chapter Four). English has had, we have said, a history going back to the early 17th century when the British East India Company set up factories on its route from South Asia to Southern China and Japan. English was implanted but the British merchants and administrators preferred Bazaar Malay, a pidginized form of Malay, in the ports and in negotiations. A standardized form of Malay was used with the sultans and in official contacts. In order to compare the development of English between the countries of SEA and to have an understanding of the ASEAN region, Kachru's Three Circle Model is normally used. None of the ten countries in question counts as a native English-speaking country and so none are in the norm-developing Inner Circle. Former Anglophone colonies, i.e., Malaysia, Singapore and Brunei (British) and the Philippines (American), are located in the Outer, potentially norm-developing Circle. The remaining ones, i.e., Myanmar, Laos, Cambodia, Indonesia and Thailand, are in the Expanding Circle where English is taught as a foreign language. But ASEAN is not a conglomerate of varieties in two circles, as many authors have argued time and again (*see* Leitner 2014). It is a region where a lingua franca variety of English is emerging (Azirah, Tan and Kaur 2016; Azirah 2019; Kirkpatrick 2011; 2012), in conjunction with localizing strategies. One can recognize the gradual emergence of a regional and expanding variety due to the increasing contact between speakers of English and institutions in the region (more on that in Chapters Five and Seven).

Our study will attempt to embed the implantation of English in the local habitats of SEA. Chapter Three will describe the history of English in the region. Subsequent chapters will look at its manifestations, but will distinguish localization (in various countries) proper from its use as a lingua franca in ASEAN. We will return to sociopolitical issues in Chapter Eight. We will be selective in that we emphasize more on Malaysia and its vicinity. We draw on published research and the body of research is largest on English in Singapore, followed by Malaysia. Brunei is picking up; though with a population of below 500,000 it cannot acquire the impact of Malaysia or of the Philippines.

2 The transformation of local language habitats

Southeast Asia (SEA) is a complex region, we stated above, and it is hard to see that it has a natural geographic unity of a sort. The ten countries of SEA (with East Timor 11) have both a high level of linguistic diversity and convergence, and have sometimes been separate, almost isolated polities. There were conflicts, wars and alliances in conflict. Today, all countries are members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), which aims to develop a ‘socio-cultural pillar’ by 2025 to complement economic and security integration. Language is not mentioned there explicitly but can be inferred from statements about cultural pluralism as SEA hosts several thousand languages that are spoken by a current population of over 600 million people. After independence each country chose one language (like Malaysia, Myanmar, Laos, Cambodia, Indonesia, Vietnam and Thailand) or up to four languages (like Singapore) for national or official functions, which amounted to creating an asymmetry in linguistic space for the sake of nation-building. That topic will be dealt with more extensively in Chapter Seven.

To describe the linguistic diversity in detail is impossible here. There are some comprehensive linguistic studies of the mainland part (Vittrant and Watkins 2019) and of the maritime area (Enfield 2011). There is none of the entire region. Concepts like *language family* and *Sprachareal* (language areal) have been suggested and they may help bring some order for an overview of local language habitats. Vittrant and Watkins (2019) discuss the concept of *Sprachbund* (or *Sprachareal*) at some length in relation to language contact in the first chapter of their book. The concept was first introduced by N.S. Troubetzkoy to describe similarities between languages with no common origin but which were located in a common geographic region. It is not merely a linguistic concept as Thomason (2001) pointed out:

[Linguistic areas] arise in any of several ways – through social networks established by such interactions as trade and exogamy, through the shift by indigenous peoples in a region to the language(s) of invaders, through repeated instances of movement by small groups to different places within the area.

(Thomason 2001: 104)

8 Transformation of local language habitats

Vittrant and Watkins add common culture (a concept maybe better expressed by ‘commonalities of culture’), history, social organization, politics, geography, population density and diversity as factors (2019: 1). A *Sprachbund* consists of the total number of languages and the sociocommunicative and political space given to them in some region. Vittrant and Watkins believe that SEA is an example of a *Sprachbund*:

In the case of Southeast Asia, a region characterized by the presence of five language families and several millennia of contact between the area’s linguistic communities, an areal approach is fruitful both for the description of undescribed languages and for typological studies.

(2019: 3)

We will agree with that approach (though we have used the concept of *language habitat* for much the same purpose), but we must point out that a language family is not a concept that allows much of a political orientation. There is no pride in belonging to some language family nor is the concept of language domination and the like related to language families. It is particular languages that allow or demand loyalties and political associations in and between polities. In that sense the concept of language habitat is broader and different from *Sprachbund*. A habitat may consist of native or longstanding migrant languages. Current inbound work migrations such as from the Philippines or from Indonesia or southern India into Malaysia intersect with local languages but lead to ethnolects at best. More substantial are external influences from Indian and Chinese languages and Arabic. Languages that have come with colonialism will not be discussed in this chapter apart from its centre-piece: English.

The appearance of new languages and dialects such as ‘new Englishes’ raises issues of substrate interferences with language developments. What are likely features that have been discussed regarding SEA languages?

- L1 transfer could originate in individual languages in contact with English or they could be found in larger language families.
- There is the possibility that features spread from a more powerful or prestigious variety of English across SEA (or ASEAN). Could that lead to a full or partial ASEAN English variety?

Such issues have sometimes been raised and investigated. We will add some background here.

Local languages and language families

Five language families have come to the region and developed into separate languages over a period of several thousand years. They have interacted (or avoided contact) with proximate languages of different types and with others of the same type. Their speakers migrated, settled and formed communities and polities over

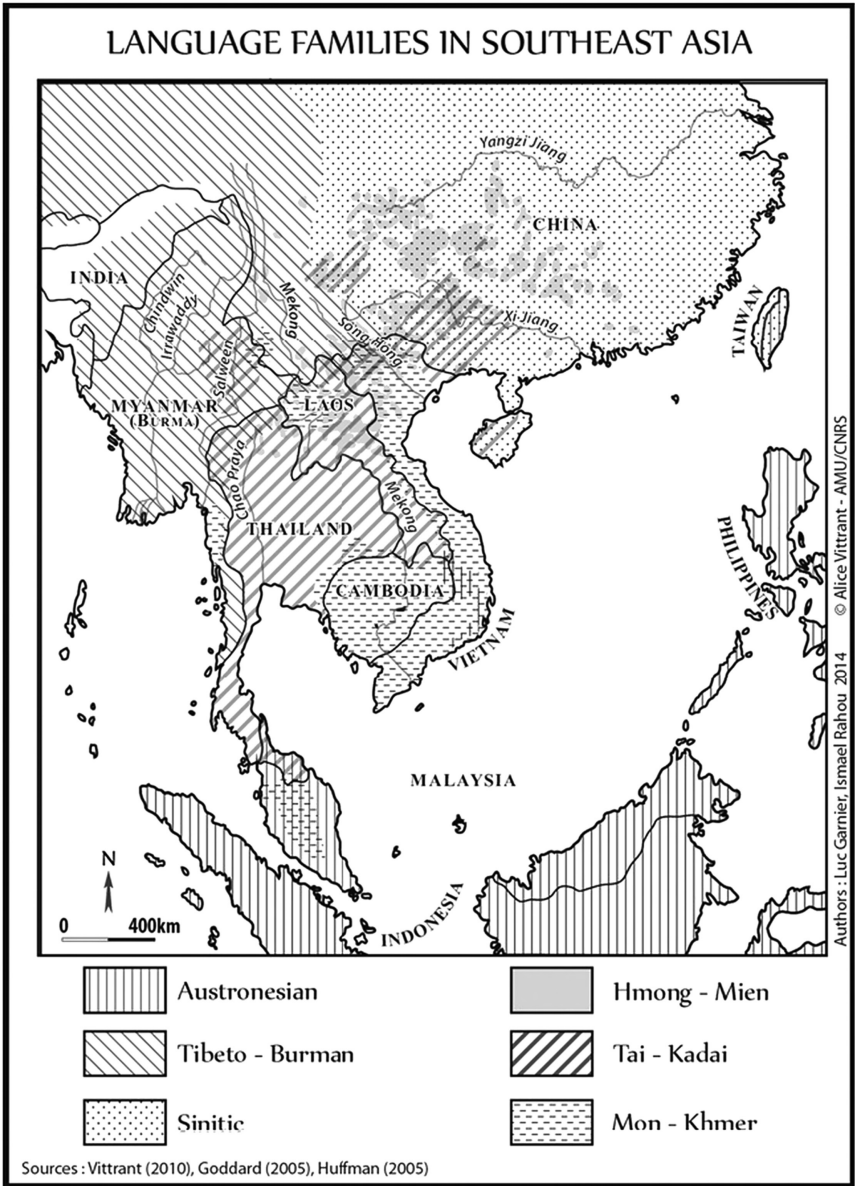
time. Settlement, sociopolitics, mobility, contact and conflict have created particular language habitats (Blust 2013; Azirah 2014). They have not remained local as languages from the outside such as (Southern) Chinese (languages) in the north, Indian (languages) in the west and on to the Malay Archipelago and the island world in the south have played a strong role. Arabic came through trade and especially with the spread of Islam. It is used for religious purposes in Islamic regions but its influence goes beyond them (*see* Chapter Five). These languages were the most prominent ones in this dynamically changing scenario that colonial languages like Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, French and, finally, (British and American) English finally entered from the 17th century.

Here we will focus on the regional scenario where the five language families, i.e., the Austronesian, Austroasiatic or Mon-Khmer, Tai-Kadai, Sino-Tibetan and Hmong-Mien ones, occupied what is now Burma, Laos, Vietnam, Thailand, Cambodia, Malaysia, Brunei, Singapore, Indonesia and the Philippines (Map 2.1).

Austronesian is one of the largest families worldwide with well over 1,200 languages that are used from Formosa (where they came from) to the Philippines, across the Indonesian island world and the south of mainland SEA, on to the Pacific and as far south as New Zealand. In the west they extend to as far away as Madagascar. In terms of numbers of speakers, Austronesian is the fourth largest family worldwide with over 380 million speakers. Blust (n.d.) writes in his *Encyclopedia Britannica* entry:

All the roughly 160 native languages of the Philippines are Austronesian, although it is likely that the now highly marginalized hunter-gatherer populations of Negritos originally spoke languages of other affiliations. Approximately 110 Austronesian languages are spoken in Malaysia, mostly in the Bornean states of Sabah and Sarawak. In mainland Southeast Asia some seven or eight Austronesian languages belonging to the close-knit Chamic group are spoken in Vietnam, in Cambodia, in border regions of Laos, and on Hainan Island in southern China. Malagasy generally is regarded as a single language. The remaining 900 Austronesian languages are about equally divided among Indonesia (...) and the Pacific islands of Melanesia, Micronesia and Polynesia.

Seen from the language family angle, SEA is divided into a maritime part with outliers in the southern and eastern coastal areas of mainland SEA and the rest of the mainland. The large Austronesian family has two main branches, i.e., the Malayo-Polynesian and Formosan. The first branch is again divided into two, the western branch with 531 languages spoken in Madagascar, Malaysia, Indonesia, the Philippines, parts of Taiwan, Thailand, Vietnam and Cambodia. This branch represents over 300 million speakers and includes such widely spoken languages as Javanese, Malay and Tagalog. The Central-Eastern branch is of no interest here and is located in Oceania and eastward. Languages of the western branch are spoken in tropical regions close to the equator. A few are spoken further north such as in small numbers in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. In Malaysia and



Map 2.1 Language families in Southeast Asia

Indonesia, Malay is one of the large languages of that family. The former British and American colonies, i.e., the Philippines, Malaysia, Singapore and Brunei, are surrounded by that family and of the major languages, i.e., Tagalog in the Philippines and (various forms of) Malay in Indonesia and Malaysia. Malay is the national language in Malaysia, Indonesia, Brunei and Singapore and a minority language in southern Thailand (See also Haiman 2019).

Austroasiatic (or Mon-Khmer) languages form, we have said, a large language family in mainland SEA. Its 150-member languages are spoken by somewhat over 100 million speakers in the northern and eastern part of continental SEA, comprising Cambodia, parts of Vietnam and smaller parts of Laos, Myanmar and Thailand. Clusters can be found across southern China. The most well-known languages today are Khmer, Mon and Vietnamese, which have had writing systems for many centuries (Do-Hurinville and Lin Dao 2019). Central or Standard Khmer is the national language of Cambodia with 15 million speakers and Vietnamese is the national language of Vietnam with around 80 million speakers. They are amongst the ones with the oldest written records. The so-called indigenous Aslian languages in Malaysia are also Austroasiatic. Within that family, there are estimates of 12 sub-families, which have, according to glottochronology, separated some 3,000 to 4,000 years ago. On the surface, it is hard to believe that the monosyllabic and tonal Vietnamese has anything in common with the polysyllabic and non-tonal Munda languages but they do belong to the same family (Diffloth n.d.). Given the age of languages and sub-families of the Austroasiatic family, it is hard or impossible to establish relationships with other families. Practically every classification has been contested but the cohesion of this diverse family has been established convincingly by scholarship. What is important for this study is that these languages do show similarities with other families and support the idea of a SEA *Sprachareal*.

The Sino-Tibetan family came several thousand years ago from Southern China and includes Chinese, Tibeto-Burman (in Burma) but also, according to some experts, Tai (Egerod n.d.). It constitutes the second-largest language family after the Indo-European and has some 300 descendants. Migrations brought ancestral languages to the Tibetan plateau on the one hand and into India and Myanmar where they developed numerous smaller families. Its members can be found predominantly in southern China, Vietnam, Laos and a few languages in Thailand. Chinese, Tibetan and Burmese represent three major sub-divisions (the Sinitic, the Tibetic and the Burmin) and have developed separate writing systems; Thai with its own writing system would represent a fourth type. Burmese (or Myanmar, as it is also called), the national language in Burma (or Myanmar), is considered a major representative of this type.

Kra-Dai languages are found in southern China, Vietnam and Laos with smaller communities elsewhere in SEA. Thai and Lao, the national languages of Thailand and Laos, account for over half of Kra-Dai speakers. Most Kra-Dai languages have no writing systems. Many languages, including Thai and Lao (which have also been assigned to the Sino-Tibetan family), use Indic-based scripts. Others use Chinese character-based scripts, such as the Zhuang and Kam-Sui in southern

China and surrounding regions. Romanized scripts were introduced in the 1950s by the government for the Zhuang and the Kam-Sui languages.

Coming from southern China, Hmong-Mien languages, finally, are a family whose speakers have migrated into SEA only from the 19th century onwards. Languages are scattered across northern Thailand, Laos, northwestern Vietnam and southern China. It might be considered a somewhat older migrant language, though there seems to be an underlying Chinese political angle in this classification. Although a genetic relationship between Chinese and Tibeto-Burman is generally accepted, the assumption that this family includes Hmong-Mien and Tai-Kadai is not widely shared by linguists outside China.

As a consequence of these developments over such a long period of time, polities of today are sites of multiple language families and their descendants. Laos, writes Enfield (2006),

is home to at least four different ‘genetic’ groups: Tai (southwestern and northern branches), Mon-Khmer (Bahnaric, Katui...) Hmong-Mien (...), and (according to a different classification) Tibeto-Burman (Lolo-Burmese branch). The precise number of languages spoken in the country is not known due mainly to a lack of empirical data. Estimates vary between around 70 and around 120 distinct languages (...). For a country of its size (smaller than the United Kingdom) and population (less than 5 million), Laos features a very high degree of linguistic diversity in global terms.

(Enfield 2006)

In neighbouring Myanmar, over 100 languages are spoken from the Tibeto-Burman and Tai-Kadai family that are used as native and second languages. Thailand, for instance, has around 100 languages from mainly the Tai-Kadai, but also pockets from Austro-Asiatic and Austronesian languages. Thai is the national language and spoken by some 94% of the population and mainly in the Central Thai dialect from the Bangkok region as the national language. Indonesia is a very multilingual country with over 700 languages, mainly from Austronesian, spoken. But many of them are quite distinct and even on smaller islands 50 or more languages are used. Bahasa Indonesia, a form of Malay, is the national language used by a growing number of Indonesians. But there are other large languages such as Mandarin Chinese spoken by roughly one million. Hindi is used by over 400,000, Bengali by some 200,000, etc. As for other foreign languages, one can mention Spanish, Russian, French, Portuguese and German. Of course, Indonesia has a young and fast-growing population with over 260 million in 2017 so that percentage-wise multilingualism will diminish as Bahasa Indonesia will rise. Yet, despite that, there are many languages for such a population.

With some 150 languages, the Philippines has fewer languages but with some quite strong regional ones, debates about the societal status of languages especially in education is a crucial issue (*see* Chapter Eight). English and Filipino are co-official languages. The small states, Brunei and Singapore, naturally have

fewer local languages. But Singapore is rich in terms of migrant and workplace languages.

Many traditional language habitats have had a hierarchical social structure in that some languages like Thai, Malay or Laotian and Sanskrit or (much later) Arabic had a distinct prestige over others. Often writing systems developed as in Thailand or were taken over as from Sanskrit in the Malay region. Today's politics, too, have a hierarchical sociopolitical language texture where, as we will see in the next chapter, English or in the past other colonial languages played a key role. At the top today are languages with national and political functions; others below are used only locally with little or any political relevance. Burmese, for instance, is the national language of Myanmar. Khmer is Austro-Asiatic and is the national language of Cambodia. Laos has Lao as the national language and Thailand has Thai. Malay in Malaysia, Indonesia, Brunei and Singapore and the language Filipino, the national language of the Philippines, are Austronesian. Of course, the concept of national language does not imply that it must be the largest or the most widely spoken language or the one used in most or all national functions such as in Parliament. Ancestry and literary pride are sometimes used to argue for a more prestigious and public status of some languages. Thus, Malay is seen as having a long history and an extensive literature in Malaysia. In Singapore, it is pointed out that it should be used more often and be more visible publicly as the national language. But Singapore, for instance, has English as official and working and Malay, Mandarin and Tamil as official languages but it is English that is pervasive. The choice of a national language is normally politically motivated, as we will see in Chapter Eight (*see also* Leitner 2017).

When smaller or neglected languages develop a supportive infrastructure, they often give rise to debates in educational contexts. Should such languages be used as media of instruction is a topic we treat in more detail in Chapter Eight, as the debates are often linked to the early introduction of English and they force many minority pupils to learn another local one and English.

Possible input from outside SEA

Multilingual complexity has been due to migration, habitation, sociopolitical power structures and in modern times to globalization. Political domination brought Sanskrit and other Indian languages to the north of SEA and to Malaya very early and then remained dominant languages for centuries. On Sanskrit, Uri Tadmor writes this:

The earliest foreigners known to have had significant influence on the Malay-Indonesian archipelago were Indians.... Therefore, we do not know exactly who introduced Indian civilization to the area, although it is assumed that it was mostly Indian traders, scholars, and missionaries, rather than through largescale immigration or political domination. The oldest Malay inscriptions (7th century CE) contain parts in Sanskrit, and even the Malay sections ... include many Sanskrit loanwords. Sanskrit continued to be used

in the Malay-speaking world for centuries as a liturgical language (for both Hinduism and Buddhism) as well as a literary language. This has made Sanskrit a major donor.

(Tadmor 2009: 688)

Despite Tadmor's caution, we may not be too wrong to infer from his quotation that Sanskrit was still in active use and not just a sacred and religious language in the 17th century. Loans came from a living language. Its impact on political terminology, for instance, on Indonesian Malay was studied by Laffan (2006) and on Malay in Malaysia by Beg (1983). Indian domination and the close cultural ties with India account for the fact that Malay was written in the Pallavi script during the Hindu-Buddhist era. It was replaced by Aksara Jawa Kuna in the 15th century when it was replaced by a modified Arabic script called Jawi. From the 17th century Jawi was gradually replaced by the Roman script but the two are still used in respective domains side by side.

Chinese dialects were common in the northern part of SEA and enriched, for instance, Vietnamese. It has been mentioned earlier as a heavy recipient of influence due to 1,000 years of Chinese domination. Migrations have made Chinese dialects and recently Mandarin major ethnic languages. Thus, Mandarin has had a considerable influence on Malay and English in Singapore today. Some features spread beyond Singapore into Malaysia and Brunei. We will mention them in the next chapter.

Arabic entered the scene as a trade and religious language in the 14th century. Its vocabulary heritage in Malay and Indonesian has been described by Jones (2007), who cites over 4,500 loanwords which include names of the days of the week, astronomical bodies and the like. Many of the same loanwords are found in Acehnese, Sundanese, Javanese and other languages spoken by strongly Islamized ethnic groups in eastern Indonesia, as well as by the Muslim populations of the southern Philippines. But its impact on English has not been studied much and will be referred to in the following chapter (Azirah and Leitner 2016).

Colonial languages like Portuguese, Dutch, Spanish, French and, finally, English were introduced during the colonial period. Their role depends on the beginning and the region of colonization. None has had a greater and longer-lasting impact than English. It connected the colonial administration in India and the Malayan world. We will survey some of the linguistic properties of language families to highlight the fact that very little of their linguistic richness has been carried over into English (or other colonial languages). The main objective is to bring out common or very different properties as they can be used in discussions about L1 interferences, the learning potential of them as foreign languages in SEA and their status vis-à-vis English. In other words, we believe that interference from language families is perhaps not a major process though commonalities across languages and differences may facilitate transfer. This leaves other processes at work that may also bear upon English. The following list, which is based on Enfield (2011), contains features that we feel are important and may be potential points of interference into local Englishes and ASEAN English.

- very high number of vowels generally (relative to consonants)
- systematic distinction in vowel length (long versus short) in some languages
- few consonants in final in contrast to initial position
- preference of monosyllables (but with compounding words become multisyllabic)
- no inflectional morphology (no agreement, no case, no gender), number/definiteness on noun phrases, no tense-marking in verbs)
- zero anaphora (free ellipsis of arguments if contextually retrievable)
- topic-comment structure in clauses
- rich inventories of sentence-final particles

He describes mainland SEA (2011: 65) as ‘a remarkable example of a linguistic area’ and goes at some length on the five language families that are found there, i.e., Tai-Kadai, Sino-Tibetan, Hmong-Mien, Austroasiatic and Austronesian. Languages from these different families show massive convergence in structure at every level. He refers to a study of language contact of genealogically unrelated languages that have been in close contact such as Thai with Vietnamese and Khmer. They turn out to score like Polish and Russian on the global scale used and he concludes that ‘these figures indicate a dramatic macro-level convergence in grammatical structure between unrelated or very distantly related languages that has taken place over centuries in Mainland SEA’ (Enfield 2011: 65). Such a scenario between language habitats supports the idea we will suggest later that SEA not only has national Englishes but develops regional ones as contact deepens thanks to ASEAN (*see also* Leitner 2014).

The absence of a feature like (no) inflectional morphology implies the absence of a range of structures like agreement, case and tense marking, etc. The relative homogeneity of mainland SEA languages thus is explained by the fact that

Large-scale language shift does not mean that a superstrate language simply replaces a substrate. In language shift, large numbers of people learn the superstrate language as adults and as multilinguals. Factors of both adult second-language learning and of multilingual speech contribute to the transformation of a language through contact.

(Enfield 2011: 74)

He expands this when he says that

If the above observations are correct, we may hypothesise that the Mainland SEA facts—a very high degree of linguistic convergence combined with relative simplicity of grammatical structure—are to be explained by a history of widespread adult learning of neighbouring languages (indicative, say, of large-scale and repeated migrations) and widespread codemixing in multilingual environments, as facilitated by a widespread ethnic pluralism.

(Enfield 2011: 75)

This neatly brings together the observations we have made throughout this chapter.

The phonology of these language families and their interaction in the region and with English is the best studied as a linguistic area. Phonology, the underlying systems of accents of segmental and prosodic features, shows both convergence and large-scale differences. We will begin with phoneme inventories. Blust's survey of Austronesian languages (2013: 169ff) argues that the average size of some 90% of these languages has between 15 and 20 consonants and four to five vowels. He refers to an older study that shows Malay to have between 18 and 23 consonants and six vowels (in Standard Malay in Malaysia and eight in Standard Indonesian), while Phan Rang Cham in Vietnam has as many as 31 consonants and eight vowels (Blust 2013: 188). A large number of Philippine languages have between 18 and 31 consonants and 3–8 vowels. Burmese has between 30 and 33 consonants and 8 vowels. While the numerical size of inventories suggests potential areas of interference into English, the nature of phoneme inventories is more relevant. Vowel height and area of articulation can be between three and five heights and front, central and back. Vowel length is a distinction made in some languages. Equally interesting is the dynamics of vowel articulation. English has a number of rising and centering diphthongs but few local families do. Given this, if interference were the major factor in the acquisition of English, one would expect significant reductions in the vowel systems, which is not the case.

Tonality divides SEA language families into tonal and non-tonal languages. Austronesian and Austro-Asiatic are non-tonal, while the others reflect varying numbers of tones. Interestingly, in nations with a demography supporting a tonal language like the Chinese, the majority in Singapore may well (and does, *see* Chapter 5) facilitate the rise of a tonal distinction in (Singaporean) English. Particularly interesting is the syllable and word structure. All over, syllable codas do not permit many consonant clusters. If one adds that clusters are often simplified and can be deleted, the preferred syllable structure may end up being consonant-vowel (CV), which may lead to a large number of homophones. The range of final consonants is typically small and restricted to nasals and laterals. But there are languages that are close to Indian languages and permit complex initial clusters. Given the diversity in phonological systems, one would expect transfer to create somewhat different Englishes that could be ironed out by the rise of language contact and of ASEAN English.

Morphology traditionally deals with inflectional and derivational morphology. It shows a large variety with Munda having rich morphological systems with prefixes, infixes and suffixes to express person, number, tense, negation, mood (intensive, durative, repetitive), definiteness, location and agreement with the object or to indicate intransitive, causative, reciprocal and reflexive forms. On the other hand, Vietnamese has practically no morphology. Between these two extremes, the other Austroasiatic languages have many common features.

- (1) except in Nicobarese, there are no suffixes. A few languages have enclitics, certain elements attached to the end of noun phrases (possessives in Semai, demonstratives in Mnong), but these do not constitute word suffixes.

(2) Infixes and prefixes are common, so that only the final vowel and consonant of a word root remain untouched. It is rare to find more than one or two affixes (i.e., prefixes or infixes) attached to one root; thus, the number of syllables per word remains very small.

(Diffloth n.d.)

There are morphological processes in which etymologically related words manifest themselves in groups through tonal, initial consonant or vowel alternations. Reduplication is a salient word formation mechanism to express meanings like degree and intensity or, as in Malay, plurality. Lexical borrowing is a pervasive feature in all languages but can be so typical that membership in some language family can be in doubt.

As for syntax, ‘Austronesian languages are agglutinative, i.e., they form words attaching prefixes or suffixes to roots with basic meanings to create derivatives. Words can be very long. They also use reduplication to mark grammatical relations’ (<http://aboutworldlanguages.com/austronesian-language-family>). To give one example, reduplication to indicate plurality occurs in a few languages such as Malay as in *orang-orang* ‘people’. Interesting is the structure of *wh*- and yes-no-questions as there is no inversion. A particular feature worth mentioning is the deletion of subjects (pro-drop) and of objects in some languages and their reliance on context or even co-text. Illustrations are in Malay ‘Pergi ke pasar? (Going to the market?)’ and ‘Awak nak makan?/Nak makan (You want to eat?/Want to eat?)’ where the context must decide if the speaker or addressee is meant in the first example, while the second person is the most likely addressee.

Kra-Dai languages have basic subject-verb-object (SVO) word order. There is a rich system of noun classifiers, and verb serialization is common without overt marking to indicate grammatical relations. A number of lexical items (mostly verbs) may function as grammatical morphemes. Temporal and aspectual meanings are expressed through tense-aspect markers typically derived from verbs, while a considerable number of discourse particles convey mood and modality. Deletion is a universal phenomenon but it does seem that context- and co-text-dependency may carry over, for instance, from Malay and into Malaysian English.

Turning to pragmatics, some language families such as languages from Austronesian and Kra-Dai include the linguistic expressions of social hierarchies in different registers through lexical choices and sometimes variants in phonology and grammar. Blust (2013: chapter 3) devotes extensive space to the sociolinguistic, stylistic and discourse features in Javanese and other Austronesian languages. He distinguishes hierarchy and gender-based speech, ritual and secret styles and others. To quote:

A comprehensive history of speech levels in AN [Austronesian] languages cannot yet be written, but a likely scenario can be sketched as follows. Most languages show some lexical variation that is correlated with status-sensitivity, but this is rather loosely organized and enforced. In some societies these tendencies came to be more formalized and mandatory, perhaps initially

on ceremonial occasions, and later in daily life. The cause or causes of this increase in formalization must remain speculative, but changes in social structure that exacerbated status differences would presumably have preceded the appearance of fully developed speech levels. There is no evidence that any of this is ancient. Rather, the respect language of Java probably evolved near the end of the Hindu-Buddhist period, which led to the rise of courts and courtly language. It then diffused into the neighbouring Sundanese, Madurese and Balinese languages, and from Balinese into Sasak.

(Blust 2013: 136)

So social change, diffusion and contact were the crucial agents that account for the widespread presence of such speech styles while democracy and globalization weaken status-related styles. We will see that in the next chapter regarding the history of English in the region. The fact that Java played a crucial role in their growth is important as it has never even been close to the centre of the Austronesian language family and so one will expect many sub-families or languages without such styles. Indeed, Blust goes on to argue that

The evidence to hand, then, suggests that speech levels in Javanese evolved within the separate history of that language. The Oceanic cases are perhaps more plausibly derived from a common ancestral form, but even here there appears to be no basis for reconstructing details of such a system. And he suggests that these linguistic may have arisen from a shared ‘hereditary chieftainship in Proto Oceanic society that was compromised in much of Melanesia as a result of heavy contact-induced change in both language and culture.’

(Blust 2013: 136)

Hierarchy-based variants also exist in Tai-Kadai and other language families. In Thai, for instance, there exists a royal register and such expressions are also common in Malay. Sociolinguistically, there were several dimensions of hierarchy-based styles, all of which were based on lexical pairs or triplets of choices. Blust also draws attention to minor phonological features but above all to templates whereby lexical items could be derived from one another. To look forward, in passing, English (at a much later date) did not borrow such styles though Java was the first area where contact occurred. The first representative of the East India Company there, Stamford Raffles, used (a high form of) Malay to communicate with sultans and their administration.

Gender-based styles are rarer and only documented in detail in Taiwan. Blust refers to some studies of profane and ‘angry’ registers in some languages (Blust 2013: 140ff) though similar insulting words can be found in English as well. None of such characteristics of registers seems to have been borrowed into English (or Spanish or Dutch). The same goes for secret languages, back-slang and the like, all of which have been attested in one form or another in English (e.g., rhyming slang, etc.). So, despite the implantation and development of local forms of English, social styles and registers have not impacted on English while

such features have surfaced on native English contacts such as Australian English (Leitner 2004a).

Given this diversity of languages and characteristics in Southeast Asia, the role of interference, and sociopolitical power structures, one might either expect a great deal of variation between the number of Englishes or else there may be more or less powerful varieties that ‘decide’ what is valid across the region. We will argue for this solution in Chapter Seven, in particular because of the increasing role of ASEAN but also point to the danger of the reduction of local languages and the loss of cultural properties described above. Before that, we will close with some conclusions. For one, there is a clear geo-political division between the maritime and southern Malaysian peninsula on the one hand and continental SEA on the other. The first region is dominated by Austronesian languages and the rest of the continental part is more diverse in terms of language families and a location of intensive mobility contact. Secondly, despite enormous differences between SEA languages after a history of several thousand years, there are a number of widely shared features, some of which accentuate the typological distribution, others may hold for SEA as such. Many languages exhibit social hierarchies in the vocabularies and a few in phonology, grammar and pragmatics. Tonal features divide the northeast and north from the rest of SEA. The presence of clause-final discourse particles, however, seems to hold for the region as such (*see* Chapter Seven). Word order seems to be quite variable (Low and Azirah 2012). Such features may affect the development of English in the future. But it is not only local language families that influence English. It is rather the demographic constituency that plays a role. Chinese, for instance, is said to have triggered the rise of tonality in the English of Singapore and of a number of other features, as we shall see.

3 History of English in Southeast Asia

Multilingual habitats are, we have seen, not only a matter of the presence of local languages (or language families) in a society where people are multilingual. Multilingualism is increased in many other ways such as by immigration, international business, trade, marketplaces or today's malls and tourism. Southeast Asia's language habitats have always been influenced by languages from outside the region, such as from India, China, the Middle East or Europe. Japanese was introduced in the years towards the end of World War II and Russian became important in Indo-China during the Cold War. Neither Japanese nor Russian have exerted significant influence on local languages. They have come back due to tourism, trade and migration. Indian and Chinese languages and Arabic, in contrast, have been in the region over long periods so that they have left their traces in loanwords, pronunciation, grammar, social norms or even in writing systems. It was this context that European colonial languages entered into and that they gradually, and with varying degrees of success, restructured to their advantage. Portuguese, for instance, left a creole in Malacca, Spanish is still used in the Philippines and so is French in Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam with the support of Alliance Française. Dutch is marginal in Indonesia. The impact of Arabic is increasing due to the increasing role of Islam in Southeast and South Asia (Azirah and Leitner 2014).

But English has by far been the greatest influence and beneficiary. It alone has managed to transform its societal role from foreign to second and even to native language in various areas of SEA and in ASEAN. Coleman is right when he quotes one of the British Council's beliefs that "English is critical for countries' successful participation in the global economy, that it provides individuals with access to crucial knowledge, skills and employment opportunities and enables organisations to create and sustain international links" (Coleman 2010: 3).

We will show that throughout this book but especially in Chapter Eight on language policy and education. The present chapter will tell the history of English in SEA countries and ASEAN and how it has transformed the national language habitats that we described in the preceding chapter from the local angle. We will begin with the East India Company (EIC), which brought English to the region but will be brief with the 18th century. We will spend more space on the 19th and 20th centuries when English became more relevant (and was complemented by other

colonial languages in Indonesia, Indo-China and the Philippines) and began to be used in the education and the public domains. Closing the history, we will turn to the independence of former colonies and the early global period to pave the way for today's language policies and the problems and challenges faced by ASEAN. In other words, we will lay the foundation for the development of (quite similar) national forms of English (or national Englishes) and the rise of a more common ASEAN English or, as Kirkpatrick (2010) puts it, an ASEAN lingua franca English.

Before we start with the history of English we should make it clear that this chapter covers more ground than most works on English in this region and that we have had to be very selective in what to include in terms of colonial history and of modern history since World War II. We cannot avoid covering, for instance, Thailand here, as it was most affected by European colonial policies without becoming a colony. It is also necessary to mention the USA as they became active politically and in terms of trade and (Protestant) proselytization in many parts of the region after the acquisition of California in 1848.

The East India Company

When the British East India Company (EIC) sent its First Fleet eastward in 1600, English was spoken by little over five million people in England, Wales and Scotland. It did not play a big role in SEA for the next two centuries either (McCrum et al. 1986; Leitner 2009). It took time for it to become the global lingua franca and the lingua franca in Southeast Asia. European traders and negotiators there followed discernible realities and the tradition that has developed since the 15th century. So Malay or Bazaar Malay was used in trade and its early standard form in correspondence with rulers. Translators and young English people were placed in suitable environments so they would acquire local languages. Interpreters were in demand as adults in jobs. There were no infrastructures in any of SEA's polities that could or would organize multilingualism even though there were complex social norms in many societies and some languages such as Javanese reflected them in their textures, as we have seen in Chapter Two. They too can barely be seen as precursors of the creation of regional or national habitats.

The EIC entered an active Asian trading context when it reached Bantam on Java on its first voyage in 1600–1602. The daily market there was a cosmopolitan place with a natural Asian flavour:

The great daily market at Bantam was cosmopolitan and thriving. There the English met Arab, Turkish, Iranian, Gujarati, Tamil, Bengali, Malay, Javanese and Chinese merchants. At the market, traders bought and sold an incredible range of exotic goods – silks, porcelain, spices, carpets, drugs and gourmet foods.

(British Library Board n.d., ch. 2)

The EIC set up a factory, i.e., a trading post, despite disputes with the Dutch, who had arrived around 1596. The factory was maintained till 1682, allowing for

some years of interruption. It became a place for the trade of pepper and other spices and was promoted to Presidency in the region in 1617. Andaya (2013: 162) writes in her review of Dianne Lewis' publication on David Bassett (1656) that the EIC established a fragile but functioning trade network that included numerous areas of South-East Asia, notably Makassar, Maluku, the Banda islands as well as Siam, Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. Though their efforts to penetrate the Asian mainland were ultimately unsuccessful, the EIC Directors hoped that Bantam's strategic position would render it a stepping stone to the elusive markets of China, Taiwan and Japan.

The EIC created a trade network itself, infiltrated the Asian trade and set up other factories in Aceh on Sumatra in 1612, Tidore on the Moluccas (1604), Sambas on northwest Borneo (1614) and Makassar on Celebes (1613), well before the Company moved its headquarters to India to avoid permanent conflicts with the Dutch East India Company. In Sambas, gold and other minerals were found and attracted Chinese migrations. Further factories were established in Pattani (Thailand, 1614), Syriam (Burma, 1647), Phnom Penh (Cambodia, 1651), Bengkulu (Sumatra, 1685), etc. Further east was Hirado in Japan, which has been studied in detail by Kaislamieni (2017) (*see also* Prakasch 1998). Coming closer to communication, Kaislamieni (2017: 132), for instance, writes that factories were staffed by Englishmen and locals, some of whom were used as interpreters. The number of staff was small. At the upper administrative level there were a few people with local servants or staff brought in there. Contact with the outside community as in Java, Cambodia or Thailand was minimal or, as in Hirado in Japan and in China, forbidden. Soon after setting up the factory at Bantam, the EIC set out to explore trade possibilities across SEA and sent ships to Cambodia, Thailand and other locations. There were ups and downs, often failure or heavy competition with Dutch, Chinese, Indian or Malay traders and the French who had lost Bengal to the EIC in 1757.

The ill-defined Bengal border with Burma in the province of Arakan constituted a permanent site of conflict and was a factor that led to the first Anglo-Burmese War in 1824 that lasted till 1826. Two further Anglo-Burmese Wars followed in 1852 and 1885 at the end of which Burma became an EIC colony. Britain now controlled the entire Bay of Bengal and had undisputed access by land and sea to China and Japan. Colonial conflicts further east continued with France, which began to create Indo-China from the middle of the 19th century. Laos was to become a buffer zone between British Burma and French Vietnam. But Thailand was able to negotiate outside of the Anglo-French rivalries and remained independent.

English and other European languages cannot have been used or transmitted much to local populations during the 17th and 18th centuries. Apart from Bazaar Malay, Chinese Pidgin English was probably also used later in trade situations (Wurm et al. 1996). As contact was minimal outside factories, English was only picked up by local staff and often developed as a pidgin in trading contexts, as the records of the EIC at the British Library suggest. Yet, it was localized and re-cultured over time. We will distinguish, for instance, the developing English

of those British people who resided in, and moved, between trading posts and between Britain and Asia and the English of the few local people. Terms like *Anglo-Indian* for an educated form of English in India for the former and *Babu English* for low forms in trade or by servants are quite well-known (see Wurm et al. 1996). At a higher level we have to refer to the situation when English went outside the British realm and began to be acquired and used by more educated local people and was supported by local rulers, as in Thailand in the 19th century (see below). But unlike India, which had an ‘Anglicist-Orientalist’ debate about who to teach English to in the early 19th century (see, for instance, Leitner and Pandey 2015), there were no such controversies in SEA. English was clearly meant to be a language for an elite though SEA was not to be much more than a trading region at that time.

In the early period, the EIC was sensitive to the languages local traders used and in negotiations with rulers. The Company developed a tradition of using local languages in its official negotiations, a tradition that continued well into the 19th century, for instance, by Stamford Raffles, the founder of Singapore. Unfortunately, there is no documented history of the use of local or regional languages or of English inside the EIC yet, so we infer that this tradition will have declined over the decades and that English must have been used in wider circumstances. Many European and American traders, who came independently of the EIC, would have used English in some fashion or used interpreters to be able to trade and get, for instance, goods such as logs for ships in very competitive trading situations. Many British expatriates who settled, for instance, in Burma and northern Thailand, did acquire local languages. Interpreters were often lured away from one East India company to another, a practice that created advantages to the winning party. Translators had intimate knowledge too. By the 19th century there must have been a wider demand for English in commercial and political situations that was noticed by local rulers, as in Thailand.

Thailand stood out from this picture. It had conflicts on its borders with its neighbours and had to negotiate conflicting British and French interests. There is no space to narrate the bigger picture of the conflicts, the role of Great Britain and the practices of royal succession in which Thailand was embedded from the 1820s onwards. Bennui and Azirah (2014) describe in considerable detail the uptake and spread of English in the whole of Thailand and the amount of interaction with British and American diplomats, traders and missionaries as well as the increasing number of European settlers in the country, in Burma, Laos and Malaya. A little detail they drew upon is that interaction with Chinese immigrants often involved English. One should add that tens of thousands of Chinese who migrated to the USA and Australia at that time became knowledgeable in English.

Thailand managed to remain independent. The situation was difficult for the Thai king, King Rama III (1788–1851), who became the first to take steps to introduce English in the country in the 1820s (see Hilado-Deita n.d.) to facilitate, e.g., trade negotiations, gain access to ‘Western’ knowledge and technology, but also to engage in social contact with the British and other foreigners. He considered technological instruments such as the printing press, a medical

dispensary and newspapers, which were brought in by missionaries, useful to the country. English, he felt, was key to Thailand's position in the region for commercial and political negotiations and treaties. The first treaty signed between the USA and an Asian country was the Treaty of Amity and Commerce in 1833. The treaty exists in four languages, i.e., Thai, English, Portuguese and Chinese. As the treaty states, English was not known to the Thais and Thai not known to the Americans. Portuguese and Chinese were languages known to both partners. The treaty entered into force in 1836 and gave substantial trading rights to the Americans, who after the reign of King Rama V gained the sensitive position of advisor in foreign affairs.

As to the value of English, the King was very pragmatic and was critical or even inimical to the role of the colonizers otherwise. His son, King Rama IV (1851 to 1868) pushed his father's steps further and introduced English in the educational curriculum. He himself was multilingual in Pali, Sanskrit, Latin, French and spoke and communicated in English. The sociocultural climate attracted more and more European visitors and increased the interaction with the Thai Court and the Thai elite. English was spreading amongst the elite but also amongst a substantial number of common people. The next king, King Rama V or King Chulalongkorn (1868–1910) continued modernization. Bennui and Azirah (2014: 6) elaborate thus:

With English competency and a thorough comprehension of the west, King Chulalongkorn's visits to Europe twice in 1897 and 1907 made a good impression on European leaders. His international ties led to a requirement for his children to learn English and either French or German... . The King then continued employing foreign advisors to modernize the country. English was the lingua franca between them and the personnel of the Court. ... During this time, some English and American government officials in Thailand married local women, so a number of Eurasian children were born. ... Further, many additional English and American diplomats, missionaries and officers moved to Chiang Mai. As an additional factor ... the number of ethnic workers for the company from British Burma and India gradually increased. ... American missionaries were setting up Catholic schools, hospitals and churches... . In the reign of King Vajiravudh (King Rama VI) (1910–1925), Thailand became more modernized.... Although the king was western-oriented, he did not want Thais to follow all western cultures ... he encouraged Thais to choose certain cultures from the West to suit their needs. For example, acquiring English as a language of knowledge was encouraged as it could make Thais more educated.

Thailand changed into a nation state and, while King Chulalongkorn continued to open the country further and to use English as a language of communication with the outside world, he restricted its use in education, favouring the spread of, and the promotion of literacy in, Thai. He was the first ruler to raise the topic of national language and to reject the pervasive adoption of western values. He

insisted that it should only be used as a skill to communicate, not to identify with the cultural load that came with it. As attitudes critical of western values were already expressed by King Rama III, King Rama V may be credited with crystalizing two crucial issues for the future of Thailand and the whole of SEA. The first was a very critical view of western values and, yet, of seeing English as the most important vehicle of access to modernity. The second was the insistence on ‘Thainess’ and the adoption of the Thai language as the glue to hold society together. That policy was possible because Thailand had become a nation state, albeit more of an absolutist monarchy. To quote from a summary of English language teaching in Thailand and the social context from the mid-19th century onward by Kaur et al.:

To meet these challenges, King Rama V focused upon the concept of ‘Thainess’. New meaning was given to royal ceremonies and rituals that placed the king at the center, wielding absolute power over all members of society and making the king as the central point of the nation’s unity. The ideology of ‘Thainess’ succeeded in maintaining the social hierarchy along with ensuring that the political structure would continue to be accepted without question.

(Kaur et al. 2016: 346)

In other words, ‘Thainess’ meant that the members of society should ‘know their place’ and conform to its values. That concept shows the longevity of Thai cultural values that reflect today a stagnant, conservative stance that many experts like Kaur et al. (2016) hold responsible for the lack of success in education and English language teaching (*see* Hilado-Deita 2015). Along this line, Sattayanurak (2008: 33) writes that Thais can imagine social changes only in terms of material progress, but cannot imagine changes in terms of social relationships.... Thais see things in the modern system of social relationships that do not fit in the framework of ‘Thainess’ as ‘abnormal’ behavior that must be quelled or corrected; for example, when ‘children’ or those in ‘low social space’ disobey those in ‘high social space....’ The establishment of Thainess as an ‘official’ national culture has been an ongoing mission. In April of 2012, Prem Tinsulanonda, the 91-year-old Privy Council president and statesman, included the ideology of Thainess to his nine principles of repaying the country by stating that ‘To be Thai, a person must have Thainess’ (quoted in Kaur et al. 2016: 353).

This resulted in Thais avoiding the perception of likely confrontations with higher-status people such as teachers (O’Sullivan and Tajaroensuk 1997); Thai students tend to feel it is inappropriate to appear to question their views. Teachers are seen as the givers of knowledge while students are inexperienced and hence not in a position to share or express ideas. As a corollary, Thais can find it difficult even today to carry out a student-focused, discussion-based curriculum. Such long-lasting cultural concepts can be found elsewhere in SEA.

Despite a history of English language teaching of over 100 years, English continued to be perceived only as a practical skill, but clearly a foreign language. It did

not take roots although there is some evidence of nativization and the intrusion of Thai words. Their growing number in literature and the press was recently noticed and seen as an asset to develop further. From a broader developmental perspective, Thailand's English continues as an Expanding Circle variety in Kachruvian terms, despite a growing number of publications that describe its acculturation and the growth of 'local' features (Bennui and Azirah 2014a; Bennui and Azirah 2014b).

Though Schneider's developmental model excludes non-former colonies altogether, some experts have applied it to a range of varieties of English in the region. English in Singapore for instance, is said to be reaching the final, norm-developing fifth stage. Former non-Anglophone colonies or non-colonies like Thailand stagnate elsewhere between stages two and three. However, even the advanced stage of Singapore English does not exclude exo-normative pressure (*see* Chapter Four). Success and prestige in international communication count more than the development of a local and colloquial *Singlish* variety. Official policies aim to enforce International Standard English in public and in educational domains. Local grammars, dictionaries and classroom materials for schools continue with native English norms. A discrepancy between developments in unguided, unmonitored situations and educational norms is well-known. Australian English, for example, developed for decades but formal Australian norms only developed after the appearance of the first local dictionary (apart from informal glossaries of 'Australianisms'), *Macquarie Dictionary* in 1981. They were formally enforced as a goal in the public domain only in the late 1980s (Leitner 2004). In light of such delays, the fact that Thailand fell back in its proficiency level of English and lost a promising tradition without having constant support is perhaps not too surprising.

To return to the early history of the EIC, the Company was not interested in spreading English or English culture and Christianity. It aimed to be a player in the spice trade like other European commercial companies in Southeast Asia (Wade 2009, 2010; Keay 1993). Its Royal Charter described its objectives and responsibilities and its exclusive rights to all trade east of the Cape of Good Hope to the Straights of Magellan. The purely economic focus shifted when it controlled Bengal and opened a possible political agenda with the renewal of its Charter in 1813 that included religious proselytization and the education of local elites that could assume administrative roles in governing colonies. English had not been used much as a lingua franca and the British, like most Europeans, used interpreters and acquired some knowledge of local languages. Correspondence and negotiations with royalties to obtain trading permits were, for instance, conducted in educated or standard Malay or Thai. While correspondence with the London office used only English (*see e.g.*, the collection of EIC correspondence with London in the British Library), some South and Southeast Asian vocabulary began to enter into English in Britain (*see* the *Hobson-Jobson* 1896). Correspondences within Asia began to include local features and code-switching, as Kaislamieni's study (2017; ch. 5) shows.

Kaislamieni studied the correspondence from Hirado in Japan and compared it with similar data of the periods. He assumed that the letters written in or from

there reflected multilingual scenarios. This is indeed the case, when he looked at letters written by writers living abroad. When he turned to letters connected with the EIC factory in Hirado, we see that letters written within Japan show a very high degree of code-switches, while those written within the East Indies and from there to England drop that feature considerably. Letters written within England show no code-switching at all. English became one of the contact languages in the trade domain and gave rise to the development of pidgins, as Wurm et al.'s *Atlas* (1996) shows. There are other interesting findings in Kaislamieni (2017) such as the dominance of languages in use in East Asia, i.e., Japanese, Spanish, Malay and Portuguese, which he was able to rank-order in Hirado:

Japanese is the most frequent language. It is followed by Spanish, Malay, and Portuguese. Spanish was not only familiar to many of the Hirado factory members from their career before joining the EIC (...), but was also spoken by many Iberian missionaries (and traders) in Japan and across the East Indies, and thus valued as a medium of communication between Europeans. Malay and Portuguese, on the other hand, were *de facto* lingua francas spoken across the South and Southeast Asian seaboard: Portuguese from the Iberian Peninsula all the way to Japan, and Malay from the east coast of the Indian subcontinent to the Philippines and further to Formosa and Japan (...). Arabic, on the other hand, was of course a lingua franca used in the Islamic sphere of influence.

(Kaislamieni 2017: 159)

He adds that Dutch was used among Europeans, as EIC staff lived in the same environment in Hirado. As mentioned above, it was the languages used commercially in Asia that triggered code-switches. Some EIC staff was competent in traditional school languages though they also learnt Asian lingua francas and the local languages if there was a need. But by the end of the early 18th century, the EIC must have begun to use English in its trading posts across SEA.

Like every commercial company, the EIC experienced ups and downs, expanded its sphere of operation but shifted its commercial and political centre to India. Towards the end of the 18th century the EIC returned to the Malayan mainland and established a factory in Penang in 1786 that Francis Light had obtained from the Sultan of Kedah for the promise that the Company would assist him against attacks from Thailand. The EIC now had a secure and safe trade route with East Asia now.

Stamford Raffles was appointed lieutenant governor of Bencoolen in 1811 and given control over Java and the archipelagic empire. He set up his headquarters in Malacca, which had been a trade market for the entire archipelago, and a staging post for ships heading east towards China and west towards India, Arabia and Europe. It was an old town with layers of Malay, Chinese, Arab, Portuguese and Dutch and fleets hailing from Borneo, Sulawesi, Bali and Java amongst others. By far the most important part of his work there, Raffles felt, was to establish relations with the native courts of Indonesia. He sent letters, written by local

scribes in Malay in the Jawi script, to the ‘petty fiefdoms’ of southern Borneo, Madura and Palembang, across the Straits of Malacca (Asmah 2012). A letter to the Raja promised that, as ‘the friend of the English and the enemy of the Dutch and French’, he would assist wherever possible, and would inform the Java courts of what the British were planning.

Today, Raffles is mainly remembered as the founder of Singapore in 1819. He turned it into a free port where ships could anchor without paying duties to a sultan or other ruler. Over time, its demography shifted from a Malay to a Chinese and Indian majority. Singapore further accentuated the conflicts with the Dutch, who claimed it, as it had been part of Johor and belonged to the Dutch East India Company. The Anglo-Dutch Treaty, signed in London in 1824, was to finally end conflicts and to demarcate clear lines of separation. The Dutch relinquished all territorial claims on mainland SEA including Malacca and gave up the claim that Singapore would belong to its influence. In return, Britain renounced Bencoolen on Sumatra. The EIC now controlled mainland Malaya, Singapore and possessions in the north of Borneo, which were to become Sabah and Sarawak. In 1825, the Straits Settlement was established unifying Penang, Malacca and Singapore.

As far as the further spread of English is concerned, two points should be made. The first concerns the deepening presence of America and the role of American English. America was an active trader in Thailand and even more so in China and Japan. A private commercial company operated in the north of Borneo and was managed by two American businessmen between 1865 and 1881, long before the USA acquired the Philippines in 1898 (as well as Guam and Hawaii). American traders and missionaries were active across SEA and American English was often used. The second and more consequential point is that Stamford Raffles initiated educational work by establishing the so-called Singapore Institution in 1823 for the children of staff of the EIC and of local rulers. It was renamed Raffles Institution later and still exists today. By the middle of the 19th century and after two Opium Wars against China (1839–1842 and 1856–1860), the European colonizers and the United States became more active in the region, The Netherlands were firmly in control in Indonesia and France built Indo-China. The three colonial languages were used and were spreading through education.

SEA experienced no major hostile events during World War I (1914–1918). Germany had only colonies in peripheral areas such as in New Guinea, which Australia saw as a threat, and some agreements with China that allowed it to trade and to station some warships. However, it had excellent economic relations with Thailand. Despite that, Thailand sent troops to France to support the Allies in 1917. It declared war on Germany and Austria and broke off the economic relations with Germany. German businesses were closed, Germans interned and the few ships that were in Bangkok’s harbour were confiscated. Thailand’s troops were active in the war. Thailand’s strategy to win international recognition and acceptance succeeded. It became the only SEA signatory of the Versailles Treaty, and was a founding member of the League of Nations and of the International Labour Organization. The unequal treaties it had been forced to enter into with Britain and France before the war were lifted in the 1920s. Vietnam and other colonies

that had been forced to support France and England did not fare so well. As in India, the political activists of the region came back with considerable experience in radical politics, not the least of which was knowledge of Communism and of the Russian Revolution. A well-known Indonesian communist, Tan Malaka, travelled widely during and after World War I, networked internationally, learnt English and German (he knew Dutch, of course) and made known what went on in the Communist sphere globally. Communist parties were founded in Thailand in 1942 (but its origins go back to 1917), Laos in 1930 (and 1945), Cambodia in 1930, Malaya in 1935, Burma in 1939 and Indonesia in 1914. Communism was a strong populist force and led to numerous civil wars in Indonesia, Malaysia and other countries after World War II (*see, for instance*, McVey 2006). When the colonizers wanted to re-establish the pre-war situation, local opposition was much stronger and, as in India, was now decisively Anglophone (or Francophone). In contrast, Indonesia's opposition voted for the Malay language as the future national language of the country. Dutch lacked international prestige and was generally disliked across Indonesia.

The impact of the two World Wars, of the rise of Communism and the role of nationalist movements on the growth of colonial languages would deserve an independent study. Some of it will be dealt with in the context of non-Anglophone colonies below. What needs to be said at this point is that there emerged elites in various countries that became familiar with what was happening in Europe, promoted English (and French) and weakened the association of English with Britain. Interest shifted to the United States. Global institutions such as the League Nations and International Labour Organization (ILO), the United Nations Organization (UNO) and its dependent institutions had tremendous consequences in the entire region and opened up new platforms for debating all political issues. Regional bodies such as the EU and those focused on particular issues like UNESCO or the World Bank rounded off the picture. They all used English.

Burma or Myanmar, as it was called in 1989, is the eastern neighbour of Bangladesh and India. In the west it extends some 6.5 thousand kilometres from north to south. It is SEA's largest mainland country and ethnically and linguistically extremely diverse. There are three language families, i.e., Tibeto-Burman, Tai-Kadai and Mon-Khmer. That and the use of between 70 and about 130 languages make Myanmar heavily multilingual and multiethnic. Its population stood at around four million in 1885; today it is over 50 million citizens. Its languages are quite unevenly distributed geographically, as McMormick (2016) explains in his survey of languages:

higher status languages live in *lower* altitudes – the lowlands and in mountain valleys – and lower status language speakers live in *higher* altitudes – the uplands, highlands, and mountains. An example from the Kachin world would be a Maru or Lhaovo speaker, who will also know Jinghpaw and Burmese, and possibly Shan or Chinese. Jinghpaw and Shan speakers would not learn Lhaovo unless they had family connections. Burmese rarely learn minority languages, learning instead English and such economically useful

languages as Korean or Japanese. Parallels outside of Burma are many, such as eastern Europeans who learn many western European languages for work and education opportunities, but not vice-versa.

(www.iiias.asia/the-newsletter/article/hierarchy-contact-re-evaluating-burmese-dialects, accessed 22 April 2020)

Burma had been a prosperous country that was crossed by trade routes from China into India. There were close ties between Buddhism, the state or royalty and religion that supported the social texture. Monastery schools were places where boys from all backgrounds acquired basic literacy skills and, if they so desired or were selected, professional skills. Monasteries were socially egalitarian and successful in raising literacy amongst the male population.

Burma's richness made it an attractive target in the 19th century for the economic exploitation of natural products like forests and agriculture. The EIC, which had gained eastern Bengal in 1757, waged a first Anglo-Burmese War in 1824–1826. When it acquired control over the coastal region of Arakan, that part was administered as a province of British India. After the third Anglo-Burma War in 1885, the whole of Burma became a separate British colony (1886). English became the official language and main working language while Burmese dominated in other domains and continued, along with Chinese and Hindi, as a trade language. Colonization made Britain the winner. Burma's economic and social infrastructures were broken, businesses and monasteries left at the poor end and no longer able to support the social infrastructures and education. A colonial administration was now introduced which offered an increasing number of jobs, created the forerunners of a later educated elite and stabilized the demand for English. The subsequent history of the country is of more interest to political science but what is of interest here is, of course, the British impact on education and the spread of English. Ada Chai (2014) writes this on the intrusion of the British:

Initially, the British attempted to use the existing monastic system to fashion a rudimentary system of Western-style primary education. As this was prior to the separation of Burma from India, this simply resulted in the imposition of educational policies in India on the Burmese system. It fell upon Sir Arthur Phayre, the Commissioner of British Burma, to combine the best of both worlds and incorporate secular subjects into a monastic system to create a westernized system similar to what was established in India (Chai 2014). However, Phayre's attempts failed because they were resisted by the monks and they failed to take into account the differences between the Indian and Burmese population. Although a few monasteries were receptive to the idea of improving their curriculum and accepted secular textbooks from the British, most monasteries resisted the change. Monks refused to teach subjects like geography and science, which they considered to be evil and 'refused to play the layman, to be supervised by the layman,

to keep lay attendance registers, to exercise lay discipline, and to use lay books’.

(Chai 2014)

The British were largely unsuccessful in their educational efforts and so were the missionaries who were permitted into the country. They did not manage to convert many Buddhists but did succeed in bringing Christianity to the ethnic minorities in the upland valleys. They also became active in education and established a range of schools. A good example is St Paul’s High School in Rangoon, which was founded in 1860. It is the oldest high school in Burma and became a prestigious Catholic boys’ school for the Burmese, Anglo-Burmese and Anglo-Indian elite. It was instrumental in spreading English and in creating an affluent Burmese educated elite. (During the Nationalist Period that school was closed and it now operates under a different name.) By the 1870s, the British had set up three types of schools, i.e., vernacular schools, Anglo-vernacular schools and English schools. They all taught reading, writing and arithmetic and subjects related to British history and sociopolitical structure. Burmese and English or both were used as media of instruction depending on the type of school and, of course, on their location.

Rangoon and other towns had become cosmopolitan and large enough to support diversity in education since the mid-19th century. Europeans, many migrants from across the sub-continent, a sizeable community of Jews from Baghdad and Chinese lived there. The proportion of the Burmese naturally declined in such areas. The population realized the professional opportunities offered by the bilingual Anglo-vernacular schools in the administration and other government areas such as in education, forestry and agriculture. Thus, the number of university enrolments increased and an academic class of Burmese was generated, while Buddhist monastery education declined. And like in India the uptake of English and of a British education system fostered the rise of a nationalist movement and an opposition to British colonial rule. Nationalists realized that the Burmese could look after themselves. When Rangoon University was opened in 1885 and was followed by universities elsewhere, an Anglophone elite emerged in the 1920s and 1930s that would lead the path to independence. It was supported by an organization that united the young generation of students under a nationalist and Burmese banner. They called for universal Burmese education with Buddhism as its core of a social and individual identity. While that movement failed at the time, ideological divisions between Communists, Socialists, a Burmese Buddhist majority and others fearful of it too were aggravated. Even promises to regional ethnic communities of the right to succession did not help unify the new nation. The country was divided along many lines. Frictions erupted shortly after independence in 1948 when the selected Prime Minister U Nu was unable to unite the ethnic communities.

A military coup by U Ne Win in 1958 ended consensual politics and U Nu’s Prime Ministership. A ‘Burmese road to socialism’ under a Socialist program was initiated. Burmese remained the official language and was significantly

strengthened as the use of English declined. Burmese was medium of instruction right through the system though inconsequential promises were made in support of minority languages. In 1962 a Communist regime took over and closed access to the country from the outside world. English was now discontinued in education. The subsequent history led to the termination of the military regime. Elections led to a massive win of the current Prime Minister Aung San Suu Kyi but the results were declared invalid. The army now became a significant vehicle for the promotion of Burmese as its power increased significantly so that ethnic minorities had to be able to communicate in Burmese to negotiate with military leaders and the regime. In the presence of over 100 languages, Burmese became the national lingua franca and education policies were a one-way road to assimilation. But English was reintroduced in the end, as Kirkpatrick (2012: 53) narrates:

It took the failure of one of U Ne Win's daughter [of the Prime Minister] to be accepted into university in England because of her poor English that led to a re-think of the Burmese-only language policy and the revival of English.

That was not to be easy. A generation of Burmese had not learnt English, schools and universities had been closed periodically and foreign teachers removed. That may not be the sole or even the most important reason as the *Myanmar Times* explains on 15 December 2017. The paper begins with mentioning the prevailing attitudes to the benefits to be gained through English and the permanent complaints about inadequate success in teaching it:

all ASEAN countries have compulsory classes in English at the primary level. Yet Myanmar students still face challenges when it comes to speaking English.... Indeed, English skills are an advantage in the labour market.... Furthermore, speaking English allows participation in the world economy, sciences, trade and so on.

(www.mmtimes.com/news/why-cant-myanmar-kids-learn-english.html, accessed 22 April 2020)

It quotes a teacher saying that 'I always get angry when speaking with foreigners in my office. I know what they are saying but I can't speak', and then turns to the then Minister of Education who complained about the absence of native speakers and technical support. The deputy minister adds that 'Nobody set the rules to use English while communicating in schools, so nobody speaks in English'. Reading and writing are still the main objective of learning. Another official is quoted as saying 'critical thinking is also paramount to improving English proficiency, as is connecting lessons with real-life situations'. We can see similar suggestions for critical thinking in Malaysia and elsewhere. Whether that would ever become an objective in hierarchical societies like the ones in SEA remains to be seen. Critical thinking could easily lead to criticism of governments' actions.

These complaints and suggestions had been embedded in the wider context of English worldwide and the fact that in many parts of the world, *Englishes* or

national varieties had come to the fore. It is not a surprise that academics and the press in Myanmar picked up this debate and called for ‘Myanmar English’ to be accepted as a reality, as a long-time teacher and native speaker of English, Ewan Cameron, writes in an opinion article in *Frontier Myanmar*, on 7 April 2018. To quote:

While Myanmar has had an erratic relationship with English, in contemporary Myanmar it is a language of aspiration. The boom in private English schools since the turn of the century is testament to this. But there remains a sense that English does not belong to Myanmar – that it is something to be borrowed rather than owned.

English ... is evolving constantly and absorbing new words.... Myanmar has many gifts to the wider English language: *Chinlone, hluttaw, thanakha, saya, say-ama, pongyi, thakin, anyeint, pwe, zat, nat, longyi, htamein, paso, gaungbaung, padauk, kantkaw, anar, oozie, lahphet, khauk swe, paya*. There are also local idiomatic noun compounds such as *tea money, fancy shop, sky beer, linecar* and *sidecar*. Only a few of these words can be found in English dictionaries, nevertheless they are ... frequently used in English-language conversations or seen in English-language publications, not just in Myanmar but also abroad (italics added).

There are clear signs of nativization, of Burmese loan words, the Romanized spelling of Burmese and the indication of their pronunciation. Would such ‘gifts to the English language’ ever make it into the Myanmar curricula of English and help Myanmar children learn and use English? Would that make children more proficient in English? Or would they remain *ad hoc* Burmese literary or spontaneous creations? What is clear is that Myanmar has lost its Anglophone heritage and the revival today follows the path of other varieties of English. Today English is seen and learnt as a foreign language, even if a small amount of nativization were accepted. We will continue this topic below and return to it in Chapters Seven and Eight from a broader perspective.

The Philippines and the United States of America

The Philippines is the eastern most country of SEA and extends over a chain of some 7,000 islands from north to south. All its 160 languages are Austronesian (Blust n.d.), which makes it a highly multilingual country. The population is ethnically related to Malays. As the Philippines were a Spanish colony from 1565 to 1898, over 90% of its population of over 100 million in 2020 (Philippine Statistics Authority 2020) are Christian and mainly Catholics. There is a Muslim community on the southern islands. The Spanish language is still important as one of three official languages, i.e., Spanish, Filipino and English.

In 1898 the USA won the Spanish-American War and acquired Spanish possessions in the Caribbean, the Philippines and the Spanish colony of Guam. In the same year, the USA annexed the Republic of Hawaii and expanded its interests across the Pacific. The acquisition of the Philippines posed issues to do with America’s values

as a country that opposed colonialism, which are described in Thompson (2003: ch. 2). In the end, economic issues permitted the USA to use the Philippines as a colony. After the Philippine-American War (1899–1902), the USA established an administration, terminated the Catholic Church's role as the state religion and introduced English as the language of government, business and education. There was a lengthy debate about the medium of instruction that ended with the realization that no local language was so widely used and developed to be suitable and that Spanish had not penetrated deeply enough to be a realistic choice. Thompson writes that

After three hundred years of Spanish rule, the census indicated that less than three percent of the population spoke Spanish.... Early on, the Catholic friars noted that knowledge of the Spanish language 'almost always caused restlessness among the people'.... In response, the friars learned the local languages and did little to promote the use of Spanish other than to introduce Spanish words into the local languages for new concepts.

(2003: 16)

In the long run Spanish did penetrate and developed as a language for an educated elite. In 1898, however, it did not appear a realistic choice and (American) English was selected. English was soon adopted by upper-class families and an educated elite.

As for schools, however, English naturally posed problems. Leaving aside the military operations, 'most soldiers', writes Thompson,

sought to win the hearts of Filipinos through a program of benevolent assimilation. From the beginning, President McKinley reminded the military that their earnest and paramount aim should be 'to win the confidence, respect, and affection of the inhabitants of the Philippines by assuring them in every possible way that full measure of individual rights and liberties which is the heritage of free people, and by proving to them that the mission of the United States is one of benevolent assimilation, substituting the mild sway of justice for arbitrary rule'.... In accordance..., as soldiers moved into an area, they established schools, built roads, and improved sanitation. Less than one month after Dewey destroyed the Spanish fleet, soldiers opened the first school.... In September after occupying Manila, the army opened 39 schools with Chaplain Father McKinnon in charge with soldiers as teachers.... By 1900 there were 100,000 students in these army schools. Osmena, the first leader of the Philippine legislature, wrote, 'the Filipinos will never forget the inspiring spectacle of American soldiers leaving their guns and, as emissaries of peace and goodwill, with book in hand, repairing to the public schools to teach Filipino children the principles of free citizenship'.

(Thompson 2003: 18)

The American approach to the Philippines was quite different to whatever the British did in their colonies. Mentioning independence (though that came under

different circumstances only 48 years later), education for the masses are two relevant items. A war with an opposition section erupted when independence was not given immediately, which was given to Cuba. In the long run America's approach was not totally unwelcome. The initial commercial interests were complemented with security issues, but education of the masses continued to be a matter of the government.

The USA could not follow the approach by the Catholic Church, which used local languages. But with no teaching staff, few school buildings and no teaching materials to build on, it was decided that books had to be imported to and from the USA. The books were to be the same ones as used in an immigrant context in America. It was realized that these materials did not fit culturally and they were adapted to make them more appropriate for the country. The story is well told by Thompson (2003) and we will return to that theme in Chapter Eight. Over a few decades (American) English was successfully adopted in the country. It acquired new, local features (*see* Chapters Four and Five) and the Philippines reached a relatively high proficiency rate, which made it attractive for foreign companies to invest. Well-known and researched is the call centre industry (Lockwood et al. 2008). There are a few well-known universities that attract foreign students.

Language issues regarding local languages in education came up now and then and were resolved. The shift to the national language Filipino in education led to a neglect of English. The proficiency level has declined and is a reason for concern. A good example was a British Council conference in 2015 where academics, teachers, the business community and government institutions all agreed that the level of proficiency had been declining and that the Philippines was in danger of losing some of its former advantage unless concerted actions were taken. To quote from a report by the British Council

Proficiency in the language is also one of the country's strengths that has helped drive the economy and even made the Philippines the top voice outsourcing destination in the world, surpassing India in 2012. The influx of foreign learners of English is also on the rise....

... key stakeholders from the government, academe, private, and non-government sectors acknowledged that even if the Philippines is doing fine in terms of English competency, concerns ... were raised. The ... country needs to step up its efforts in improving the teaching and learning of English, developing it as a vital skill of the workforce (2015).

Such voices are far less dramatic than in any other SEA country but they are there and show that the country is risking its advanced level of competence irrespective of the nativization of its English. The Philippines acquired independence in 1946 and maintained close links with the USA, which retained a number of military bases in the country. In 1967 the Philippines were one of the founding members of ASEAN.

Thailand, Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam and Indonesia

We now turn to the former non-Anglophone colonies and pick up the thread with Thailand where we found the same complaints about the lack of success with

English language teaching as in Myanmar though Thailand has had many years of English language teaching experience. Kaur et al. (2016: 351) mention the fact that Thailand invested approximately 371.5 billion baht in English language teaching in 2010, a sum that amounted to 29% of the total spending of the education ministry in that year and was one of the highest in the world. They add that ‘Despite these large amounts, the level of English among students and citizens in the English Proficiency Index remained low, Thailand ranked 55th out of 60 (EF EPI 2013) with a ranking of “very low proficiency”’ (Education First 2013). In the year 2010, the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) ranked Thailand 116th out of 163 countries. The average test score in ONET for English subjects ranged between a mere 20% and 30% (Kaur et al. 2012). According to the British Council, indicators were that Thailand’s English language teaching and learning were falling behind other ASEAN countries (Pattanawimol Israngkura, cited in Assavanonda 2013). In the WEF’s Global Competitiveness Report for 2012–2013, the quality of education in Thailand ranked worst among the eight ASEAN countries surveyed and was described as ‘abnormally low’, prompting former ASEAN secretary-general Surin Pitsuwan to remark, ‘We have seen Thailand’s scores sliding down the scale in all categories survey after survey, year after year’ (2013), although Hengsadeeikul, Koul and Kaewkuekool (2010) maintain that English is taught as a compulsory subject across the nation. International conferences, tourism and global advertising are the domains in which English is spoken. A limited but distinct presence of English can be seen in the media as well. The country hosts a small number of English TV programs and a radio station in English and there are two daily English language newspapers (*The Bangkok Post* and *The Nation*). As of 2010, over 880 international education programs throughout the country used English as the medium of instruction. This shows a 50% increase since 2004.

Thailand’s education practices seem a complete failure in this field. However, two points should be added. First, Thailand (and Myanmar) are not alone. We find complaints about unsuccessful ELT, insufficient teacher training, the adoption (or imposition) of teaching methods from the West, low expectations of students and the disregard of cultural differences in the education process right across SEA nations. Secondly, English has always and only been seen as a skill for communication, sometimes enriched by cognitive thinking. In contrast, in western European contexts English had become a ‘window’ into the cultures of Great Britain and the United States. Cultural understanding with native (British and American) speakers, intercultural communication and contrastive linguistics have become major areas in English Studies, didactics and applied linguistics. English Studies responded to new challenges when it was perceived that English was spreading worldwide and when work-related migrations in Europe changed the demography of European nations. The International Association of Applied Linguistics (AILA), the British Council and political bodies like the Council of Europe supported research into these realities in the study of modern languages. The BBC acknowledged that English was no longer the property of the British (alone) in the early 1950s. Australia took that line of thinking in the post-war

period as an opportunity to develop its own English language norms (Leitner 2004). In Germany and many other European countries, teaching materials, school grammars and mono- and bilingual dictionaries for a variety of purposes have been produced by local publishers for decades. In SEA countries there has not been a similar development. They have had concerns with nation-building and have largely continued their dependency on Britain and the USA.

English has been taught as an ‘academic’ subject in Thailand since the 1920s and to enhance cognitive skills like thinking and understanding. It was introduced in primary schools in 1926 following a global trend towards teaching English (or other foreign languages) as early as possible. The National Education Curriculum of 2002 placed English alongside information technology and national intellectual development. Learner-centred (explorative) teaching methods were now at the forefront of didactics in Europe. While English expanded into new domains worldwide, the role of the cultural backgrounds of learners that learner-centred methods should have addressed were not considered academic themes there. Methitham and Chamcharatsri (2011) claim that Western teaching methods were imposed on the education system. To quote:

Critically examining the historical background, one finds evidence that these shifts in policy and curriculum are entirely initiated from those who have power, and that local teachers may have played a passive role, never having been empowered to take charge of their teaching ... teachers have always been expected to follow ... theoretical principles and classroom techniques which are conceptualized ... only by Western theorists, not the local teachers.... Western prototypical teaching methods that the local teachers have to follow disempowered their instructional judgments and devalue their teaching experience.

(Methitham and Chamcharatsri 2011: 62–63)

Such criticisms of the West can be found across SEA but they should be looked at critically. ‘The West’ includes continental Europe and the European Union and its predecessors, etc. That part of the west did not and could not impose teaching methods on SEA nations. While Great Britain, the USA, Australia and New Zealand (could) have done, the continental European West was concerned with European themes. Not many academics in SEA seem to have been aware of what was going on in Europe. Moreover, there seems to be little awareness today of the emerging field of Applied Linguistics and of ELT in the 1920s which was largely due to British and American teacher-researchers like the American educational psychologist Lawrence Faucett, H. Wakefield, M.P. West, A.S. Hornby and many others. Some of them had ample experience from teaching at schools or universities in Turkey, Japan, Egypt, etc. and were involved in developing word frequency lists, grammar-oriented dictionaries for EFL, situational teaching methods, etc. The American Carnegie Foundation was a key stakeholder funding research and conferences in the 1930s (*see* Chapter Nine). Their aim was clearly not the imposition of theories and the like.

There appears to have been a lack of initiative and innovation in Thailand and across SEA, which reinforced the dependency academically and in terms of infrastructure on Anglophone countries and institutions. That region did not develop much of a tradition of academic and applied linguistic research that European countries have done independently of Great Britain and the United States. Not all of the perceived malaise in ELT can be blamed on the 'West' without a clearer notion of what is referred to as the 'West'.

We will now turn to Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam. The East India Company, we explained earlier, sent ships north of Bantam to explore the trading possibilities in Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam as early as the 17th century. The first time ships arrived in Cambodia in the 1610s but trade activities were discontinued for lack of success (and competition with the Dutch East India Company). Trade resumed in 1651. Bassett (1962: 36) writes in his investigation of continental SEA that the EIC 'took only a limited and spasmodic interest in the seventeenth century'. It was only in the 1650s when Asian trade faced difficulties and when problems with the Dutch and other trading nations increased in the maritime region that the president of the Bantam factory decided to renew trade and to send ships to Cambodia. Trade increased with negligible success. We can pass over the subsequent period till well into the middle of the 19th century. In 1863 Cambodia's king invited the French to protect the empire against the aggressions from Thailand and Vietnam and entered into a colonial relationship. France, however, considered Cambodia more as a buffer against Vietnam, where they had stronger objectives. As for education, so-called traditional *wat*-schools taught boys in Buddhist monasteries in basic skills like reading and writing and trained them in practical skills like building, repairing and the like. As a matter of fact, boys left school basically illiterate. French efforts to train boys and girls in French schools so they could become useful in administration met strong Cambodian resistance and failed too. Some progress was only made during the 1930s. It appears that the French colonization of the country did not leave deep marks. King Norodom Sihanouk, who had been installed by the French, declared the country independent in 1953. A few years later in 1960, Sihanouk renounced the throne and became head of government. The Vietnam War was in full swing at that time. The USA supported Cambodia at first, but when Sihanouk changed sides and allowed the North Vietnamese to enter the country in 1963 large-scale bombing of the country began. In 1970 Sihanouk was replaced by the seemingly pro-Western Lon Nol, who was quite welcomed in the country for his anti-Vietnamese stance. However, he initiated a period of ethnocentrism and Khmerization, which resulted in the country's isolation and in a brutal tyranny during which many were killed. At the end of the war in 1975, Lon Nol was ousted by the Cambodian Communist Party, which was led by the Khmer Rouge. The leader Pol Pot wanted to turn the country into a Communist regime immediately and started another massive massacre during which over one million Cambodians lost their lives. After the invasion of the Vietnamese in 1979, Pol Pot's reign was terminated. A more stable government followed that was supported by the Vietnamese. It lasted for some ten years and ended with the Peace Treaty of Paris in 1991. Under the protection by the United Nations

Transitional Authority (UNTAC), free elections were held in 1993. Cambodia became a constitutional monarchy and was opened up by the government to the outside world. It received massive foreign aid. That government was itself overthrown in 1997 but the elections of 1998 were again won by the Communist Party. In 1999, Cambodia became a member of ASEAN, which ended a long period of political instability. It is quite clear that these events, especially the massive killings under Lon Nol and Pol Pot, must have changed the ethnic and linguistic composition of the population and led to an equally massive loss of education, economic, political and cultural experience.

Turning to the language habitat, we feel there are two predominant themes, i.e., the role of Khmer as the largest and national language on the one hand and the replacement of French by English on the other (Ding and Pelkey, 2017). David Bradley (2010) describes Cambodia's traditional language scene in this way:

Khmer is the national language of Cambodia, spoken by over ten million people including all ethnic Khmer in Cambodia, over a million in the Mekong delta of Vietnam, over 800,000 along the northern border of Cambodia in north-eastern Thailand and among post-1975 refugees in the west. However, many ethnic Khmer who were resettled to central Thailand after Thai invasions in the early nineteenth century have now assimilated completely and no longer identify as Khmer. The vast majority of people in Cambodia is ethnic Khmer, and nearly all the rest speak Khmer as a second language; some small minorities are losing their own languages.

(Bradley 2010: 103)

Cambodia today is fairly homogenous and there appears to be little reason to discuss the role of other ethnic languages.

The second theme is what happened to the old colonial heritage of French after the intrusion of English. Despite the lack of success in education, France had made French the language of instruction in the small number of French-controlled primary and secondary schools. There also emerged an elite speaking French. But all governments after independence supported Khmer and French was slowly abandoned as the language of instruction. French, however, has survived as a prestigious language amongst the educated and an elite segment of society. It is now the second foreign language taught after English. How did the high demand for English come about? Answering this question requires examining the contexts within which national and individual decisions concerning national language policy were taken. There are some excellent analyses by Stephen Clayton (2008) and Thomas Clayton (2006). The story of English, both say, is not long as ELT only began in the late 1980s when Cambodia was opening up after a long period of isolation and suppression. 'The wind is blowing toward English, not French', Stephen Clayton (2008: 3) argues, and quotes an educational administrator in the country.

French had met fierce student resistance during the 1980s with the students insisting on English. Their resentment against French was successful, especially

as it was clear that the country was slowly accepted as a new member in the regional and global community. English seemed a ‘natural’ choice. It was the global language in business, in aid and elsewhere. Cambodia needed it. Both Claytons add that the decisions have to be seen in a context of national development, foreign aid and the resulting need for interactions with international agencies like the World Bank, regional neighbours like Australia and other interested parties like the United Kingdom. They all used English and had programs to teach it. English brought material benefits to those who had some knowledge of it. The propagation of English in the refugee camps in the Thai-Cambodia border region from the 1970s to 1990s were influential agencies. Australia was amongst the first to offer help after its then Foreign Minister, Bill Hayden, visited Laos, Vietnam and Cambodia in 1983. One practical outcome was the foundation of a Centre for English Language Teaching (CELT) that continued its work well into the 2000s. Under the influence of Hayden’s report, the Australian government developed a view that English was essential to the reconstruction of the whole of Indo-China as it would guarantee access to technology and the like. This assessment of English was old, as we shall see. What was not so and a total misjudgement was that access to English would become available ‘to all regardless of class, gender, ethnicity, age or geographic location, and that the external goods English provides access to are similarly beneficial to all’ (Clayton 2008: 148). He adds that access became divisive as it turned out that access was related to a person’s socioeconomic position. An alternative view, i.e., to promote literacy in Khmer and its learning by foreign aid staff, was not on the agenda. Clayton’s (2008: 161) summary is worth quoting at this point:

I have argued that for Cambodia in the post-Cold War world there was only one development ‘choice’ on offer. This was centred around an economic model which emphasised externally-oriented open markets and a minimalist role for the state – a model captured by the term neo-liberalism. The external orientation of this model resulted in the privileging of English, largely through an appeal to its assumed functional benefits. A different development model would probably have resulted in different language choices. For example, a model which emphasised internal political and economic development focused on basic needs may well have privileged a programme of mass literacy.

Foreign agencies would not have supported alternatives, he believes and adds that ‘this development model removed the “choice” of literacy from a substantial proportion of the Cambodian population’. The spread of English into major domains of development, the economy, politics and education was clearly in the hands of foreign agencies; they created a demand for it and guided the uptake. Alternatives that were voiced inside some ministry circles were quickly silenced.

English and ELT is a booming business sector today in a society whose population majority is young and upwardly mobile. They have accepted globalization and the benefits it promises. But there are divergent views about the success in

teaching and learning. The Khmer Times (14 Nov 2019) reported that ‘Cambodia’s latest ranking is almost the same as in the past years where it is placed close to the bottom globally. Last year, Cambodia was ranked 85th out of 88 countries surveyed’. A year earlier the same paper carried a report that quoted the Australian Center for Education (ACE) saying, the usage of the English language among students and teachers has drastically increased. ‘Cambodian learners are using English very well. We are even better speakers than our neighbors. Both teachers and students are working hard to learn about the language....’ said Mr Sreng. (Khmer Times, 16 Feb 2018) Was that an instance of self-promotion to secure future government funding? We will return to such opposing views in Chapter Eight on language policies in education.

Laos is the only landlocked country in SEA and it stretches a little over 1,000 km from the northwest down to the southeast. Although the British East India Company did trade in Laos (and a little more in Cambodia), that part of SEA was of little interest to the EIC. When France unified three Laotian kingdoms in 1893, the French made it a Protectorate and included it as a part of Indo-China. Modern Laos only came into existence after it acquired full independence in 1948 and definitely in 1954 when the French were defeated towards the end of the First Indo-China War. At the Geneva Conference in 1954, Laos was declared an independent country that was not divided like Vietnam was. After a brief period of peace two civil wars followed and Laos became involved in the Vietnam War and was heavily bombed by the USA. At the end of this long conflict period, the Communist Pathet Lao emerged victorious and the country became Communist. The Communist Pathet Lao, renamed Lao People’s Revolutionary Party (LPRP), turned the country into a socialist state. Laos changed from an isolationist Marxist-Socialist country into one with a socialist, free-market orientation. Laos was accepted as a member of ASEAN in 1997 (along with Myanmar) and was permitted to the World Trade Organization in 2013.

With a pre-independence population of some six million, the country was never densely populated and the long period of wars decimated the population further and led hundreds of thousands refugees from the country. Today its population stands at somewhat under seven million.

Linguistically, Laos is home to several language families and languages. It was divided into three ethno-linguistic zones, i.e., the Lowland, Midland and Upland Lao. Lowland Lao speak Tai languages and account for two-thirds of the population. Midland Lao make up a quarter and speak Mon-Khmer and upland Lao speak Tibeto-Burman languages. Lao belongs to the Tai-Kadai language family whose members, i.e., Thai and Lao, are nearly inter-comprehensible. Moreover, Lao includes many Thai loans. Laos also has languages from the Austroasiatic, Sino-Tibetan and Hmong-Yao language families. Despite its small population size (Enfield 2006), Laos is one of the most multilingual countries worldwide.

Pathet Lao promoted Lao as the national language, which was not easily accepted by the non-Lao-speaking ethnicities in these years. Indeed, the language became fundamentally divisive. This was aggravated by the fact that there were two Romanized writing systems, i.e., the one developed by missionaries in the

19th century in use in Laos and a recent one, to quote David Bradley (2010: 102), ‘The Hmong messiah Yang Shong Lue..., which is now used by his followers outside Laos, such as in Australia. However, most Hmong still use a missionary Romanization’. Its adjacent minorities in Thailand have shifted to Thai and alienated themselves from their Lao ancestry. Little is known about the multilingual reality of the country, according to Bradley (2010: 102).

Lao is only spoken as a native language by somewhat over half the population. Laos’ constitution establishes Lao as the official language in Chapter Nine, Article 75: ‘The Lao language and Lao script are the language and script officially used’. Although the Constitution recognizes the multi-ethnic texture of its people and the right of education for all Lao citizens regardless of ethnicity, only Lao is officially recognized. But that practice divides the country into three so-called Lao regions, as we mentioned above. The Lowland area is the largest one and has 65% speakers of the Tai family. The Midland has about 25% of the Lao population who speak Mon-Khmer languages, and the Upland with its 10% are speakers of Tibeto-Burman languages. Burma is one of the most divided multilingual nations; most of its languages are mutually unintelligible – a fact that makes educational language policies politically difficult. There are also large numbers of ethnic Vietnamese and Chinese in urban areas who have recently immigrated and those whose families have lived in Laos for several generations, according to Elliott (2014: 5).

During the French period, French was obviously the much sought after internally dominant foreign language. Like English in British colonies, French opened career paths. Even today French is highly visible in the linguistic landscape. But the prestige of French has declined and in recent decades English has become the most important foreign language. It has been introduced into grade three but the shortage of qualified teachers has resulted in little success. Apart from Laotian returnees from the diaspora, only a small number of Laotians are proficient. Political representatives at, for instance, ASEAN and other meetings are often selected due to their competency in English.

Vietnam is the third country that belonged to Indo-China when it was proclaimed in 1887. That ended a period of 900 years of independence preceded by 1,000 years of China’s occupation. The Chinese had established Chinese schools with strong Confucian input and developed a writing system for Vietnamese. Their domination came to an end in 938 when Vietnam gained independence and made Vietnamese the language of the country, though there were over 100 other languages. The French occupation ended a period of internal struggles and divisions of the area that is Vietnam today. The French introduced their supremacy, economic exploitation and a French school system where French was taught as the language of upward mobility.

At the end of World War II in August 1945, Vietnam declared its independence, which was rejected by the French, who attempted to re-establish the old colonial power. A long war of the Communists against the French followed and led into the Vietnam War (1955–1975).

During the Communist period in the north and some years after Vietnam’s victory over the USA, Russian was the first foreign language and was quite popular.

French and English survived on a small scale in the South. English was naturally not seen as a neutral language during and after the war. But slowly after it a surge for English began with the opening of the country to the world and especially with the beginning of the economic 'Doi Moi' reform in 1986. The hostility against America had ended and President Bill Clinton was welcomed by hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese when he visited the country in 2000. Like elsewhere in SEA, English was now the language of progress and modernity, a need for the country and it soon became the primary foreign language.

To quote from Denham (1992: 62)

The fact that English has replaced Russian is not surprising, given that English is the major international language for access to research and development in all areas of scientific, technological and commercial endeavour. That it should have achieved prominence only so recently in Vietnam is the result of that country's unique political situation.

As Kachru (1982: 5) has observed: 'The last four decades have been the decades of English....' The position of English in Vietnam reflects what has been happening elsewhere. That this happened so late in the global spread of English has to do with 'its wartime associations, English was not initially regarded as politically neutral' (Denham 1992: 64). It now is the most popular language but there are intercultural clashes as, for instance, 'Good writing in Vietnamese is demonstrated by slowly approaching the main point. As one Vietnamese scholar observed, 'Vietnamese seldom use a direct approach in their communication. On the other hand, directness is appreciated in any English-speaking country (Nguyen 1991 as cited in Denham (1992))'. He goes on 'In Vietnam, a direct approach is considered blunt, somewhat rude and certainly not scholarly. In English academic writing the reverse is true. The writer who quickly and clearly states his case is considered a good writer' (1992: 68). As in Thailand, there is a power distance in teaching between teachers-as-superiors and students-as-inferiors. Vietnamese teachers are supposed to be both mentors and masters of knowledge in the classroom, and they are responsible for guiding their students in not only academic matters but also moral behaviours (*see* Denham 1992).

Similar to attitudes on ELT methods in Thailand and elsewhere, Nguyen's survey of policies on English language teaching criticizes the communicative approach as it contradicts Vietnamese social norms. He states that

there is a mismatch between CLT tenets and traditional Vietnamese classroom cultures. For example, CLT principles such as 'calling for learner involvement, allowing learners' choice, changing teachers' and students' roles, and breaking down hierarchic barriers in the classroom' (Larsen-Freeman 2000: 66) challenge basic Vietnamese socio-cultural and educational values.

He adds that communicative language teaching 'has encountered constraints such as traditional teaching and learning for examinations, conventional beliefs about

teacher and student roles, learners' low levels of motivation, autonomy and competence, and teachers' limited expertise' (Nguyen 2017). That also echoes fears of culture loss we referred to in Thailand and Cambodia. Not all SEA countries such as Singapore or the Philippines have such debates or do not have them in the same form. We will return to such differences between the acceptance, rejection or adaptation of Western communicative norms later in this book.

Indonesia is the largest SEA country with well over 270 million people and has the largest Muslim population of any country in the world. Java always had a very strategic position for trade from China and Japan via SEA, South Asia to the Middle East. When the Dutch East India Company entered as a player in the European spice trade in the East Indies in the late 16th century, the maritime part of SEA came under Dutch trade influence and colonial domination for over 300 years. Indonesia was soon the site of conflicts between the Dutch and British companies and later of conflicting colonial interests, especially at the time of the Napoleonic Wars. Those conflicts ended with the Anglo-Dutch Treaty in London in 1824 and marked a geo-political boundary between British and Dutch trade interests north of Java. They resurfaced when the Netherlands expanded to include Borneo, Celebes and the islands further east.

This long period saw other trade and colonial conflicts between Britain and Spain, France, Portugal, the USA, as well as conflicts between SEA rulers and sultans that often appealed to Britain for assistance. Regarding the Philippines, we have described the colonization by Spain in the 16th century. Borneo also had a strategic position south of the South China Sea. Britain and the Netherlands became rivals from the 1830s as the latter attempted to monopolize trading rights further east. Spain expanded westward and eventually controlled the Sulu islands northeast of Borneo, which prompted Britain's aspirations. The French showed little interest and shifted to Vietnam and Thailand. After the USA acquired California in 1848 they showed an interest in securing access to Japan and China and entered into treaties with SEA rulers, especially with the Sultan of Brunei with whom they signed a trade agreement in 1850 and were given a part of today's Sabah. Britain also had a treaty and acquired Labuan Island and Sarawak.

That was not a period for English to grow outside British trade possessions. We will pass over it and begin with the American Trading Company of Borneo, a chartered company formed by Joseph William Torrey and Thomas Bradley Harris. It worked in the north of Borneo in 1865 but was not successful and wound up its business in 1881. There have been other foreign languages that have come with religions, linguistic and cultural factors. To mention in a rough chronological order, Sanskrit came into the region and Indonesia along with Buddhism and Hinduism. Arabic came with trade, settlement and Islam. Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch and English came with explorations, trade and colonization and were strongly associated with Christianity, science and technology. Japanese came last during World War II. Thousands of Indonesian words will have entered into intruding languages and vice versa. Most of Indonesia's over 700 languages belong to the Austronesian family (Chapter Two) but there are Papuan languages in the east. As Indonesia only recognizes one national language, i.e., Bahasa Indonesia, the

two most widely spoken languages, i.e., Javanese and Sundanese, have no official status (*see* Chapter Eight). As for English, a very useful discussion of its history, development and needs in English Language Teaching is in Dewi Candraningrum (2008), who outlines the history of foreign languages, i.e., of Sanskrit, Arabic, Dutch, English and other European languages in Indonesia.

As English is the main topic of this chapter and book, let us conclude this section with the remark that Indonesia was the only SEA country not to make English an obligatory subject in schools at its independence. This reluctance to offer English has changed, of course, when Indonesia became a founding member of ASEAN. More will be said in subsequent chapters and especially in Chapter Eight.

The ASEAN period

When ASEAN, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, was created in 1967 by Thailand, Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia and the Philippines, the Vietnam War was still going on and other conflicts were on the horizon. ASEAN was partly a peace project and some of its policy principles derive from there (Azirah and Milner 2019). Unlike the European Union, it was founded as a very lean institution with its seat in Jakarta, Indonesia's capital city. It has several issue-focused sub-centres such as RELC, the Regional English Language Centre, in Singapore. More importantly, it opted for the English language without any debate in 1967 and institutionalized it in its Charter in 2007. These consensual practices have had many repercussions. Following a federal system, the ASEAN University Network (AUN) established its secretariat in Bangkok. Other institutions were seated in Singapore and (later) in Malaysia. The governing chair of ASEAN shifts between member states every 12 months and all operations are carried out in English.

ASEAN's adoption of an English-only language policy has been seen as an advantage over the EU's multilingual policy and practice with up to 28 working languages and unformalized practices that prioritized French, English and German. In the long run, however, this decision has shifted the responsibility for successful communication to member states, which were now forced to invest massive sums of money to the teaching of English inside and outside education systems for all school-going citizens. Kirkpatrick (2012; Kirkpatrick and Sussex 2012) and other experts have raised serious concerns with the implications in a region with over 600 million inhabitants. It is not the intention of this book to evaluate ASEAN's decision in terms of costs and benefits but that issue needs to be mentioned at the end of the history of English in this chapter.

4 Texture and features of English

English, we have seen, has a long history in the maritime part of Southeast Asia (SEA). Apart from trading posts in, for instance, Myanmar, Cambodia, Vietnam or Thailand, its presence on the mainland is quite recent and related to its teaching as a foreign language. We will now turn to a survey of the features of the major varieties of English, which are mainly found in the countries that have an Anglophone past, i.e., Singapore, Malaysia, Brunei and the Philippines. These countries have been described in various chapters. Chapter Two, for instance, surveyed their local language habitats and the potential languages and families that could lead to influences on English. Chapter Three turned to the history of English in the region. Their local features will be surveyed here. Malaysia, Singapore and Brunei have maintained close relationships with Britain despite significant differences in language policies. The Philippines has maintained connections with the United States, its former colonizer. American English has been influential throughout the 19th century and especially since World War II due to the involvement of the USA in the Cold War, the Vietnam War, the South China Sea disputes, and increasingly as a cultural, economic, political and security agent. The four countries have not just been isolated recipients of Anglophone influences but have had and have increased mutual contacts, especially since the foundation of ASEAN. The relative similarities of the five language families and their differences can act as regional agents so that features can be transported thanks to such properties. Demographic factors and migrations such as those of the Chinese in the 19th century are further ingredients in the evolving texture of English. Apart from such sociolinguistic influences across time, there is what is termed ‘natural’ linguistic developments. The results of these processes will be addressed in this chapter.

Before surveying the details of the texture of English, we need to mention various models that aim to account for it. All of them assume that they can describe its properties in terms of clines of variation. Much of the relevant research has been on SgpE. Early studies such as Platt and Weber’s (1980), for example, argued that the variation of SgpE could be ordered along a ‘lectal continuum’ that ranged from the top, i.e., the acrolect, to the mesolect and down to the basilect, whose variations were determined by lines of educational qualifications, socio-economic status and proficiency. The acrolectal group is associated with people

with the highest status in terms of socioeconomic background and education and the basilectal the lowest. The basilectal variety is usually considered Singlish (in Singapore). Over time, this model was found not to hold. It did not address the different choices that educated speakers often made within the acrolect and that they too could resort to the basilectal variety. Gupta (1994) talked about high and low varieties, high for formal and low for informal occasions. A colloquial form spoken by educated people was found to be used to establish solidarity and informality and Singlish is therefore seen as ‘a variety with a sociolinguistic purpose and design, rather than one arising from a lack of competence to command the standardized variety’ (Alsagoff 2010: 338). The colloquial low form exists side by side with the standard high form and is grammatically distinct. The dissatisfaction with the narrow definition of the colloquial variety and the blurred boundaries between the standard and the colloquial varieties led researchers to question the suitability of the model and Alsagoff then introduced the term ‘leaky’ to take into account the intrusion of the high variety into the low and vice versa.

Pakir introduced a triangle model (1991). With a series of expanding triangles SgpE would vary along a proficiency and formality cline. Speakers with high proficiency are able to switch between the colloquial and standard varieties while speakers with the lowest proficiency are constrained from moving up the formality cline. Alsagoff’s (2010) Cultural Orientation Model is based on the premise that English in Singapore has two main functions, i.e., as a global language and as a means of intra-ethnic communication and social networking. English goes hand in hand with economic capital and status and as a means for global participation and is seen as neutral, a perfect candidate for a local lingua franca, able ‘to foster social cohesion among the various ethnic groups’ (Pakir 1991: 168–169). Singlish, on the other hand, is the language used by people across and within ethnic divides and is connected to the national identity, culture and the identity of the people in the country. A later model that has been proposed by Leimgruber (2009, 2011) is based on indexicality and examines the use of a multitude of codes from various languages that shows that features used by speakers are meant to index a particular meaning. Leimgruber (2009: 245–246) says ‘The indexicality model does not postulate a switch from one homogeneous code or variety to another when a speaker uses a particular variable. It is the features of one of two codes that are seen as fulfilling the task of indexing a particular stance not of making that particular utterance conform to a given variety.’ Other researchers too have placed SEA varieties inside their models. Schneider (2007), for example, has discussed five stages of development that hold for all forms of English. He maintains that MalE and PhilE have reached the upper middle level, i.e., phase 3 and SgpE phase 4 of his postcolonial Englishes model. Kachru located SEA Englishes in his Circles Model. MalE, SgpE and PhilE would be in his Outer Circle and the other SEA varieties in the Expanding Circle.

Obviously, SEA’s Englishes would be in quite separate categories depending on the model(s) used and may require somewhat different descriptions in sociolinguistic terms. But it is important to us to reveal the possibility of quite similar textures drawing on the similarities of interferences between mother tongues (L1s)

and the language families we described in Chapter Two. We will indicate where different accounts may be necessary and begin with pronunciation or phonology.

Phonology

Quite a few studies describe the phonological features of these varieties (e.g., Wong 1983; Azirah 2007; Low 2012; Dayag 2012; McLellan and Noor 2012; Gut and Pillai 2015). They all put forward distinct phonological and intonation patterns for the variety that they describe and did not compare between varieties for similarities that exist.

Vowels

Many accounts indicate the absence of the distinction between traditionally paired vowels in *put* and *boot*, and a tendency to produce monophthongs in place of diphthongs in *late*. The lack of distinction between paired vowels in BrE has been attributed to the tendency to shorten the long vowels (Low 2012; Dayag 2012; McLellan and Noor 2012). Shortening leads to homophony. For example, British English (BrE) in Kachru's Inner Circle has 20 distinct vowels (12 monophthongs and eight diphthongs), while MalE contains only nine distinct vowels (six monophthongs and three diphthongs). Word pairs such as *cart* and *cut*, *cot* and *caught* are consequently likely to be homophones in MalE, SgpE and BruE. Differences in vowel quality and the lack of a length distinction result in a smaller vowel system than RP (Pillai et al. 2010; Azirah and Tan 2012). Rajadurai (2006) found in her study that Malaysians had six instead of the seven short monophthongs of BrE. The six vowels are high front vowel /i/, a mid-front vowel /ɛ/ that represents both /e/ and /æ/, an open mid-back unrounded vowel /ʌ/, a mid-central vowel /ə/, an open mid-back rounded vowel /ɔ/ and a high-back vowel /u/. While the BrE vowel inventory can approximately be put in pairs based on the difference in length and quality, this possibility is not as obvious in MalE and SgpE (Baskaran 2004). It is likely that this reduction in these varieties is due to the fact that Malay and other Austronesian languages do not possess long vowels. Such a neutralization of length occurs both in terms of long vowels being shortened phonologically in medial position and short vowels being lengthened phonetically, especially before the consonant sounds /n, l, r, s, ʃ/.

There is a problem, however, that is largely ignored in current research. If we include the interaction of the loss of word-final consonants and vowel length in words like *feet*, for example, *feet* would have to be pronounced with a short /i/ or /ɪ/ as in *fit*. BrE RP, however, does not allow short (and lax) vowels like /ɪ/ in open syllables. If the words *feet* and *fit* were to be homophones, these varieties would not only differ from BrE RP in terms of length but also in the constraint on laxness. The two words are only variably homophones, it seems, so that the varieties in question maintain long vowels phonemically.

Baskaran (2004) and Zuraidah (2000) have suggested that there is a tendency for diphthongs to be reduced in MalE to the extent that the glide weakens to become monophthongal in nature, e.g.,

/eɪ/ realized as [e] e.g. [tek] 'take'
[stek] 'steak'

/əʊ/ realized as [o] e.g. [bot] 'boat'
[slo:] 'slow'

/eə/ realized as [e] e.g. [he] 'hair'
[pe] 'pair'

In terms of vowel quality, Zuraidah (2000) also found that back vowels such as /ɔ:/, /ʊ/ and /ɑ:/ tend to be more closed than their BrE counterparts while Baskaran proposes that there are some differences in the back vowels in that words like *thought* and *bath* are more raised and centralized compared to BrE. Baskaran (2005: 28) describes /ɔ/ and /ɑ:/ as a 'half-open and a more central vowel' in MalE. The former is similar to the findings reported in an instrumental study of vowels by Pillai et al. (2010) in which the vowel in the word *north* was produced more open and front in MalE than by British respondents.

As far as the realization of /u:/ and /ʊ/ is concerned, the difficulty in producing /ʊ/ has resulted in [u] usually, which is similar to the BrE /u:/ but with reduced length and more lip rounding. A similar tendency is also seen in the other pairs of vowels like /ɔ:/ and /ʊ/ and /ɑ:/ and /ʌ/. This lack of differentiation between long and short vowels results in words like *pool* and *pull*, *fool* and *full* (for /u:/ and /ʊ/) becoming homophones. Similarly, in the other minimal pairs in BrE, with the /e/ and /æ/ pair, words like *pet* and *pat*, *met* and *mat* are hardly differentiated. Yet, the question raised above with *feet* and *fit* has to be resolved here too. As far as the MalE vowels /ɜ:/ and /ə/ are concerned, the difference between the two tends to be neutralized. It is quite usual to find that speakers of MalE do not reduce their vowels. The expected schwa /ə/ in BrE RP can be realized as the vowels that spelling suggests, i.e., [a], [e], [o], [eɪ] or [ɪ] (Azirah and Tan 2012: 58–59).

Tan and Low (2010) measured the vowel formants of ethnic male and female Malay speakers of MalE and vowel duration and found that with female speakers the long or short vowels /ɑ:/ and /ʌ/ overlapped. It was also found that the monophthongs /i:/ and /ɪ/, /e/ and /æ/ and /ɑ:/ and /ʌ/ overlapped lengthwise. Similarly, length was conflated in the pair /ɔ:/ and /ʊ/ in their data.

Keeping in mind the issue of length and quality differences, we can summarize the characteristics of Malaysian English phonology in this way:

1. merger of /i:/ and /ɪ/: *feel* – *fill*, *bead* – *bid* all have /ɪ/
2. merger of /u:/ and /ʊ/: *pool* – *pull*, *Luke* – *look* all have /u/
3. merger of /ɛ/ and /æ/: *set* – *sat*, *men* – *man* all have /ɛ/
4. merger of /ʊ/ and /ɔ/: *pot* – *port*, *cot* – *caught* all have /ɔ/
5. variant realizations of /ə/: schwa tends to get replaced by a full vowel, the quality of which frequently depends upon orthography
6. monophthongization of diphthongs: e.g., *coat*, *load* with /o/, *make*, *steak* with /e/

There are other characteristics we mention briefly:

7. shift in the placement of accents
8. omission of final voiceless stop or its replacement by a glottal stop in mono-syllabic words with a CVC structure
9. reduction of word-final consonant clusters, usually dropping the alveolar stop

Similar findings have been reported for SgpE and BruE. For instance, Deterding (2003: 6–7) noted that the vowel space for the pairs /i/ and /ɪ/, /e/ and /æ/, /ɔ:/ and /ɒ/ was closer in SgpE than in BrE. On the other hand, he (2003: 8) reported that /u:/ and /ʊ/ showed a greater contrast in SgpE, with /u/ being articulated further back than in BrE. The respondents in both studies were undergraduates of Chinese ethnicity who were considered by the researchers to be fluent English speakers. The following phonological features of Colloquial SgpE or Singlish can be generalized; they also occur in MalE:

1. stops are unaspirated in all positions
2. /θ/ becomes /t/ and /ð/ becomes /d/ before a vowel (*thin* → /tin/; *then* → /den/); /θ/ and /ð/ become /f/ in word-final position (*breath* → /brɛf/; *breathe* → /brif/)
3. there is a lack of length contrast and tenseness contrast in vowels (*bit/beat* → /bit/)
4. there are no syllabic laterals and nasals
5. in word-final position, voiced stops become voiceless (*leg* → /lɛk/)
6. diphthongs are often absent (/ei/ and /əʊ/ in *face* and *goat* → /e:/ and /o:/)
7. it has syllable-timed, rather than stress-timed, rhythm (every syllable is given equal stress, or when one syllable is stressed, the stress may be on a different syllable from that stressed in RP)

In a similar study of BruE, Mossop (1996) and Salbrina (2006: 254) confirmed the lack of a distinction in vowel length which resulted in the conflation of long and short vowels. As in the case of SgpE and MalE, she found that the vowel pairs /i/ and /ɪ/, /ɔ:/ and /ɒ/, and /e/ and /æ/ were not distinguished and that the high-back vowels /u/ and /ʊ/ are fronted similar to BrE. In the case of the diphthongs, Salbrina (2006: 263) found evidence of monophthongization as in the case of the /ei/ diphthong, which was produced as a long /e:/. The reason for the different realizations of English vowels is often attributed to the influence of speakers' first language (L1). Thus, like in SgpE and MalE, Malay has no vowel length distinction and consequently the vowels of Malay speakers 'tend to have equal duration, and RP vowels which do not exist in Standard Malay tend to be pronounced with Standard Malay vowel quality' (Zuraidah 2000: 38). In another study, McLellan and Noor (2012) report some conflation between some other vowels including /e/ realized as /ɪ/ or [i:], e.g., *wedding* pronounced as *weeding*, /ʌ/ pronounced as [ɒ] (*wonder* realized as *wander*) and eɪ/ realized as [e] (*main* pronounced as *men*).

A description of BruE phonology is as follows:

1. reduction of final consonant clusters by means of plosive deletion, so *first* is /fɜs/
2. use of alveolar plosives for initial TH sounds, so *three* is /tri/ and *the* is /də/
3. omission of final stops /t, d/ and use of a glottal stop in place of final /k/, so *hand* is /hen/
4. monophthongization of diphthongs, so *face*, *square*, and *goat* are pronounced as monophthongs shortening of long vowels, so *shirt* is /ʃɜt/ and *cream* is /krim/
5. occurrence of rhoticity, so /r/ in non-prevocalic positions such as in *far* and *whatever* is pronounced
6. tendency not to differentiate between the vowels in words like *trap* and *dress*, so *bat* and *mat* tend to be pronounced like *bet* and *met* respectively
7. l-vocalization, i.e., the lateral is realized with a back vowel quality such as *sell* is /seo/

PhlE has been described as consisting of five vowels, namely high-front vowel /ɪ/, a mid-front vowel /ɛ/ that represents both /e/ and /æ/, a mid-central vowel /ə/, an open mid-back rounded vowel /ɔ/ and a high-back vowel /u/. There is a lack of vowel reduction in unstressed syllable so /ə/ is pronounced as [æ] (Dayag 2012). Bautista and Gonzalez 2006) and McArthur (1998) characterize the following phonological features of PhlE:

1. absence of schwa
2. absence of aspiration of stops in all positions
3. substitution of /a/ for /æ/, /ɔ/ for /o/, /ɪ/ for /i/, /ɛ/ for /e/
4. substitution of /s/ for /z/, /ʃ/ for /ʒ/, /t/ for /θ/, /d/ for /ð/, /p/ for /f/, /b/ for /v/
5. simplification of consonant clusters in final position
6. syllable-timed, rather than stress-timed, rhythm
7. shift in placement of accents
8. rhoticity, /r/ is pronounced in nearly all positions of a word
9. intonation widely characterized as ‘singsong’

Turning to Thai English, a variety that does not have a British colonial history, it has been observed that there are more vowels in Thai than there are in English. In a study carried out by Pillai and Salaemae (2012: 1144), Standard Thai is described as having 18 monophthongs. Thai vowels can occur phonemically as short or long showing the difference between this variety from BrE, which has quality contrast apart from the length distinction between vowel pairs, such as /ɪ/-/i:/, /ʌ/-/ɑ:/, /ʊ/-/u:/ and /ɒ/-/ɔ:/.

What we found in the Malay-based and (British) Anglophone varieties has wider implications. Most diphthongs in Thai, for instance, contrast length, except for /ɪa/, /ua/ and /uə/ (Pillai and Salaemae 2012). On the other hand, diphthongs like /eɪ/, /əʊ/ and /eə/ are likely to be produced as long monophthongs, that is as /e:/, /o:/ and /æ:/.

Pillai and Salaemae (2012) conclude that the contrast between

/e/-/æ/ is one of the features that distinguish ThaiE from the neighbouring varieties of English, where these vowels tend to be merged.

In brief, it seems that Southeast Asian varieties of English share several phonological features (Bautista and Gonzalez 2006; Kirkpatrick 2012) such as the absence of the schwa vowel, the monophthongization of diphthongs, the shortening of long vowels, the reduction of final consonant clusters, the shift in stress placement and syllable-timed rather than stress-timed rhythm. The description given here can perhaps not be generalized across a whole country as there are differences between, for instance, MalE spoken in the central and southern Peninsular Malaysia and that spoken in East Malaysia have somewhat different characteristics. However, the features described are commonly found in each variety.

Consonants

Azirah and Tan (2012) list six salient features of MalE consonants (*see* below). Consonant cluster reduction is very common in ordinary speech tempo in many native English accents and so it is in MalE (Baskaran 2005: 24). Clusters of three consonants are typically reduced to two and clusters of two reduced to one as in the following examples:

/prints/ ‘prints’ realized as [prɪns]
 /tends/ ‘tends’ realized as [tɛns]
 /plʌmp/ ‘plump’ realized as [plʌm]
 /self/ ‘self’ realized as [sɛf] or [sɛl]
 /ɪksept/ ‘except’ realized as [ɪksɛp]

Consonants frequently omitted are (medial) alveolar stops /t, d/, /s, z/ (Brown 1986), which has also been reported as typical in AmE and BrE. But the deletion of final stops as in the examples above is more typical of MalE and other new varieties of English worldwide. Mossop (1996: 176) reports 100% deletion of ‘stop+stop’ final clusters, 89% deletion of ‘fricative+ stop’ final clusters, 70% of deletion of ‘nasal+stop’ final clusters and less than 50% other types of deletion of consonant clusters in BruE.

Stops

The voiceless stops /p, t, k/ in initial position tend to be realized without aspiration especially at the mesolectal level (Azirah and Tan 2012; Dayag 2012; Low 2012; McLellan and Noor 2012). In such cases, the voiceless stops would be realized in a similar manner with the voiced stops /b, d, g/ resulting in homophonous pronunciation for words like *pin, bin; town, down; could, good*. In the final position, there is also often a lack of contrast between voiceless and voiced stops in terms of voicing and the difference in the length of the preceding vowel (Brown 1986). Such stops in the final position tend to be realized as fortis voiceless stops. Thus, *tap, tab; kit, kid; and back, bag* are homophonous for many mesolectal speakers.

Devoicing of voiced fricatives

There is a tendency to devoice /v, z, ð, dʒ/ in final position, for example, in MalE (Baskaran 2008b: 286). Some examples are ‘gave’ [gef], ‘move’ [mu:f], ‘stove’ [stəʊf]. Devoicing of /z, ʒ/ in medial position also occurs in MalE (Baskaran 2005: 24) and in BruE such as in please /pli:z/-> [pli:s] (McLellan and Noor 2012). Some examples are ‘easy’ [i:si], ‘husband’ [hʌsbən], ‘pleasure’ [pleʃə] and ‘revision’ [rɪvɪʃən]. Wei and Zhou (2002) found that devoicing of voiced consonants in ThaiE takes place in word-final position, e.g., /v/ pronounced as [f] and /ʒ/ pronounced as [s].

Voicing of voiceless fricatives

In contrast, the alveolar voiceless fricative /s/ tends to be voiced in final position and the palato-alveolar voiceless fricative /ʃ/ in medial and final positions (Baskaran 2008b: 286). Some examples are ‘nice’ [naɪz], ‘price’ [praɪz], ‘attention’ [ətənzen], ‘push’ [puʒ], ‘flush’ [flʌʒ]. Dayag (2012) also found general conflation between /s/ and /z/ and they tend to sound the same. In Cambodian English, addition and omission of consonants are found to occur such as /s/, /f/ and /p/ in the word-final position such as *wife* realized as *wi* and *many* realized as *manys* (Narith 2009; Azirah et al. 2014).

In MalE, the dental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/ are often realized as [t] and [d] respectively. This substitution occurs in initial, medial and final positions although in the final position, /ð/ tends to be realized as /θ/ (Baskaran 2005: 26). Some examples are [tn] ‘thin’, [tri:] ‘three’, [dæt] ‘that’ and [deə] ‘there’ in initial position. In medial and final positions, the following are cases in point: ‘panther’ [pæntə], ‘brother’ [brʌdə], ‘both’ [bəʊt], ‘bathe’ [beɪθ]. Mossop (1996a) noted that Bruneians have a tendency to realize the TH sounds as plosives, giving rise to pronunciations such as [tə:t] for *thought* and [dæt] for *that*. Similar observations were made in the present study and the results for both voiceless and voiced dental fricatives. For /θ/, more than half of the tokens (28 out of 54, 51.9%) were realized with [t] and six of the 18 subjects were consistent in their usage of the plosive for all three tokens, whereas another six had [θ] for all three. The remaining six varied between [t] and [θ] in their pronunciations of *thought*, *threaten* and *third*. Dental fricative deletion may well mark a phonological process in change that may settle one way or another in due time.

This was also found in other varieties of English such as Cambodian English (Narith 2009; Moore and Bouchan 2010) and PhilE (Dayag 2012). He added that the voice quality between dental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/ is often maintained when they are substituted by [t] and [d]. In ThaiE, speakers tend to substitute English consonants not found in Thai, with the closest Thai consonant (Trakulkasemsuk 2012; Wei and Zhou 2002).

Glottalization

Word-final plosives are often unreleased or glottalized or replaced by a glottal stop when preceded by a vowel. This characteristic is more obvious in the basilect

form of varieties such as MaE, SgpE and BruE. Some examples are *rope* [rəʊʔ], *rub* [rʌʔ], *put* [pʊʔ], *mud* [mʌʔ], *spark* [spɑ:ʔ] and *plug* [plʌʔ] in MaE (Azirah and Tan 2012). McLellan and Noor (2012) found the same in BruE, e.g., *book* /bʊʔ], *straight* /streʔ].

A widespread feature across SEA is the absence or variable presence in the (upper) mesolect of affricates, of post-alveolar and alveolar fricatives. Their absence or replacement by a different adjacent consonant is particularly frequent in non-Anglophone former colonies like Cambodia, Thailand, Vietnam, etc. The replacements are, however, different from variety to variety so that quite different national varieties may emerge. Cases in point are Vietnam English. Nu (2009) studies what can occur in Vietnam English and asks whether they signal errors or are stable and accepted features. Like many SEA languages, Vietnamese has no affricates /ʃ, ʒ/ and lacks dental fricatives /θ, ð/. But it does have a post-alveolar stop /t, d/. There are no voiced stops in the final position, according to Nu (2009). Despite some phonemic similarity, alveolar, post-alveolar fricatives and affricates are mispronounced. Apart from articulatory and perception problems, phonotactics may come into play as there is only a very restricted set of voiced plosives and nasals as final consonants. The result is a large amount of homonymy. Note that these differences are on top of quite a complex consonant system of Vietnamese and, as a result, in Vietnamese English. Despite that, Vietnamese English is not so different from Cambodian, Thai or Malaysian English.

Suprasegmental features

A number of researchers have alluded to the staccato effect in the rhythm of MaE (e.g., Baskaran 2005: 33) because syllables tend to be of almost equal length. Tan and Low (2014) measured the rhythm of some Malay speakers of SgpE and MaE using a modified Pairwise Variability Index and found that although both SgpE and MaE have traditionally been categorized as having qualities of syllable-timed rhythm, the phonetic realization is a matter of degree. Thus, MaE appears to be more syllable-timed than SgpE.

Studies have found that unlike BrE, varieties like MaE and SgpE generally do not have stress to distinguish parts of speech. Generally, the stress patterns of educated MaE speakers differ slightly from those in BrE in informal speech (Baskaran 2005: 30). MaE speakers also do not seem to make a distinction between words which represent different parts of speech (Baskaran 2005: 31). In BrE, vowels are reduced to schwa in BrE in unstressed syllables. Vowel reduction is not found in Malay and it is probably due to stress patterns being different in MaE (Zuraidah 2000). In addition, MaE speakers tend to shift stress from the antepenultimate syllable to the penultimate syllable (Brown 1988; Azirah and Tan 2012; Tan and Low 2014), for example, in these examples

BrE	MaE
/ˈkæməərə/	/kəˈməərə/
/ˈɪndəstri/	/ɪnˈdʌstri/
/ˈrelatɪv/	/riˈleɪtɪf/

There are also words where the accent on the penultimate syllable shifts to the antepenultimate with the reduction of the vowel in the penultimate to a weak vowel.

Examples of shift from penultimate to antepenultimate:

BrE	MalE
/ɪnˈʃʊərəns/	/ˈɪnfʊrens/
/spəˈgeti/	/ˈspegeti/
/kəˈrekʃən/	/ˈkɒrekʃən/

Tan and Low (2014: 201) found more vowel reduction, hence more of a stress-timed rhythm in SgE than in MalE. This contrasts with Deterding (2003, 2007) who found pronounced syllable timing. These are striking differences to RP but variable ones in more acrolectal speech. Tan and Low sum up their findings in a very limited study:

It should be noted that as past research has found that BrE is stress-timed and SgpE is syllable-timed (Low 1998), this present study shows that if the difference between stress-timed languages and syllable-timed languages is seen as part of a continuum, then MalE is even more syllable timed than SgpE.

(Tan and Low 2010)

Both Deterding (1994) and Goh (1995, 2003) list numerous ‘deviations’ from RP such as idiosyncratic placement of prominence in a tone unit highlighting the last word in a unit, stressing the second compound noun as in *writing system*, stressing the unaccented syllable as in *symbol*, having multiple prominent syllable, etc. With a reduced vowel system, non-reduction of unstressed prominent consonant cluster simplification, variable stress, resulting homophony, etc., even standard SgpE is sufficiently different from RP to cause comprehension difficulties to unfamiliar foreigners. Moreover, as vowel reduction does not take place and SgpE tends to be syllable-timed, intonation is an issue. Often prominence is signalled in other ways such as loudness or pitch height (Lim 2011). There is also a preponderance of rising and level tones where RP would have falling ones, esp. in *wh*-questions. Such differences are often attributed to speakers first language like Chinese dialects. Deterding (1994) concludes that

the British model of intonation is inappropriate for this variety of SgpE, because there is no clear nucleus acting as the focus of information or anchor for intonation within each intonational phrase. An alternative possibility is that there is a nucleus, but that it is differently cued. For example, it was observed that rises tend to occur in non-final position, while falls (or sometimes a series of falls) more usually occur in final position; and also there are rise-falls, which may indicate an extra degree of stress. There is therefore the possibility that a change from rising tone to falling tone may be a cue for the focus of information.

(1994: 71)

Equally interesting is the conclusion from a study by Lim and Tan (2001:29) on the nature of stress in SgpE, which found that the ethnic communities have different phonetic cues of stress:

Our research makes a significant contribution to studies on SgpE stress, showing that not only do the phonetic cues for SgpE stress differ from StdBrE, but also that Chinese, Indian and Malay Singaporeans each seem to use different cues for stressed syllables, compared to unstressed syllables; this may be seen as a result of the influence of the stress patterns of the local languages.

A small number of studies of MalE, of ethnic groups inside Malaysia (often compared with Singapore) show a few differences from SgpE which may be indicators of ethnic identities in either country and be related to their L1s (Low and Tan 2012). The following quotation about the lack of these tones is typical of many of these small-scale studies:

The Malay speakers ended their *wh*-questions with more falls (46.34%), followed by rises (26.83%) and level tones (17.07%). The Chinese and Indian speakers, on the other hand, used more rises (37.84% and 45.24%), followed by falls (28.73% and 30.95%) and level tones (21.62% and 16.67%). The higher percentage of rises produced by the Chinese speakers of MalE could be attributed to the question intonation patterns of Mandarin, which tend to have a raised pitch peaking at the final syllable.

(Shen 1990 and Yuan et al. 2002, cited in Yap 2016: 56)

The major result, however, is that intonation in both countries differs substantially from BrE RP. What interests us is how English in other SEA countries fares. Some of the other languages in SEA are tone languages like Thai or Vietnamese. Such languages tend to place little value on intonation and most SEA languages are syllable-timed and reduced phonotactically. As a consequence they tend to give equal value to all syllables and avoid vowel reduction, i.e., features that serve to identify stress and nucleus in RP. Given the proximity of these languages to traditional language families they tend to sound similar to MalE and SgpE. A particularly interesting feature mentioned by Tan and Low (2014) is that SgpE may have tone under the influence of Chinese.

Grammar

This section will mention some of the work that has been done on the grammar of SEA varieties. As with phonology and pronunciation, the ones that have been well researched are SgpE, MalE, PhilE and BruE. Alsagoff and Ho (1998), for example, present the following features of Colloquial SgpE grammar:

Features connected with the verb:

1. past tense and present tense not morphologically marked
2. copula dropped to describe states
3. adverbials preferred to morphological marking of aspect
4. progressive aspect marked with *-ing*, sometimes with *still*; habitual aspect marked with *always*

Features connected with the noun:

5. non-count nouns treated as count
6. indefinite article dropped
7. relative clause with different word order and *one*

Features of sentence structure:

8. subject and sometimes object dropping (PRO-drop)
9. conjunction dropping
10. use of *or not*
11. use of tag question *is it*

All these features have also been found in MalE. Baskaran (2005), Azirah and Tan (2010), Azirah and Tan (2012) and others have included the following:

1. missing noun inflectional endings (mostly the plural *-s* and sometimes genitive *-s*)
2. missing sentence constituents (object, subject, auxiliary verb, copula, preposition) giving the impression of phrasal ‘telegraphic’ speech
3. variant complementation patterns following verbs
4. wrong concord in noun phrases
5. innovations in phrasal verbs
6. use of reflexive pronouns to form emphatic pronouns

For PhilE, Bautista and Gonzalez (2006), Dayag (2012) and Borlongan (2013) have described the following characteristics:

1. lack of subject-verb agreement, especially in the presence of an intervening prepositional phrase or expression
2. faulty tense-aspect usage including unusual use of verb forms and tenses, especially use of the past perfect tense for the simple past or present perfect, use of the continuous tenses for habitual aspect
3. lack of tense concord
4. modals *would* and *could* used for *will* and *can*
5. adverbial placed at the end of the clause, not between auxiliary and main verb
6. non-idiomatic two- or three-word verbs
7. variable article usage – missing article where an article is required; an article where no article is required
8. faulty noun sub-categorization, including non-pluralization of count nouns and pluralization of mass nouns
9. lack of agreement between pronoun and antecedent
10. *one of the* followed by singular noun
11. verbs that are generally transitive used intransitively

We will examine some of these features here. Variable article use and missing articles where articles are required are often found in the above varieties. Articles tend to be deleted especially before modified abstract nouns in these varieties of English. For example, ‘Did you get MC (medical certificate) for the day?’ or concrete nouns that are used as generic nouns in predicate position, for example, ‘He was top student of the state’. Article ellipsis before modified abstract nouns could be influenced by Malay, which has no article system (Baskaran 2008a: 612; Azirah and Tan 2012: 62). Azirah and Tan (2012: 63) provide these examples:

- *Drastic increase in petrol price has affected the lives of most Malaysians.*
- *Main reason for their success so far is...*
- *She is head-girl of that school.*

This has also been described by researchers of SgpE and PhlE varieties (e.g., Lim 2004; Bautista 2008). The omission of the object pronouns occurs often in the basilectal variety and colloquial MalE. The following are some examples:

- *She knows your writing and won’t open (it).*
- *He knows the actual story but won’t say (it) .*
- *I would appreciate (it) if...*

Omission of the subject pronoun or pro-drop is very common.

- Everyday spend money like water.
- Always talk like a towkay. (owner of a business)
- Still working?

The dropping of subject pronoun for referential pronouns and for dummy pronouns occurs in colloquial SgpE. The following are examples from SgpE:

- Always late! ‘You are always late!’
- Must buy for him, otherwise he not happy. (‘We must buy a present for him, otherwise he won’t be happy’.) (Wee 2008: 598)
- Yeah, can cycle, not very well but can cycle. (‘Yeah, I can cycle; not very well but I can cycle’.) (Low and Brown 2005: 106)

In pronominal concord, there is a singular/plural distinction for animate nouns but not for inanimate nouns (Baskaran 2008a: 612). Below are some examples of such sentences.

- Many new books *have been added to the college library. It can be borrowed from next week.*
- Salina bought two bags yesterday but absent mindedly left it on the bus on her way home.

A possible reason for the lack of number distinction could be the influence of Malay where the same invariant pronoun is used for both inanimate and animate non-human nouns (Baskaran 2008a: 612).

Previous studies have shown that the non-standard use of plural forms for uncountable nouns is common in many new varieties of English including BruE (Cane 1996; Deterding et al. 2003; Deterding and Salbrina 2013) and SgpE (Deterding 2007: 42). A common feature in both colloquial MalE and SgpE is the use of irregular plural -s (e.g., *deers* and *phenomenons*) and there is a tendency to use the plural form for uncountable nouns like *equipments*, *informations*, *luggages* and *staffs* (Low and Brown 2005; Wee 2008).

She queued up very long to buy *ticket* for us (Alsagoff 1998: 230).

One of the *director* in the department (McLellan and Noor Azam 2012: 81).

This incorrect use of the plural often finds its way into the written form, such as in public notices, which suggests that the users do not know the correct forms of these nouns or that there is no delineation between colloquial and standard use of these forms (see Baskaran 2005; Azirah and Tan 2012). In their analysis of a corpus of ASEAN speech, Kirkpatrick and Deterding (2011) reported that the regularization of the count and non-count distinction of nouns did not cause any comprehension problems.

Question form

All researchers on SgpE, MalE and BruE varieties agree that speakers often find the system of question tags in (Standard) BrE extremely difficult and that it has been replaced in one or several ways in SEA varieties. A brief comment on the BrE system is given here to indicate what we mean. In Standard BrE, tags are sensitive and vary according to the polarity of the sentence or the clause to which they are appended. Apart from the typical reversal of the polarity, they may also replicate it. There is a large variety of intonational patterns that can be used to modulate the semantic and/or pragmatic consequences of the utterance as a whole. And there are intricacies with the auxiliary and modal verb system that can be modulated. A good description can, for instance, be found in Quirk et al. (1972) (cited in Yoneoka 2002). However, this complex system is often not adhered to in many regional dialects of English and AmE, AusE and other native varieties of English have modified it. It is, therefore, not surprising that SEA Englishes are not using it that way either. The way they are used depends on the exo-normativity of English language teaching, the interactants involved and the level of education of English users.

Some examples of question forms:

A single tag like *isn't it* irrespective of polarity and the intonational options is used:

He is always late, *isn't it?*

She likes it, *isn't it?*

Another common feature in colloquial MalE, BruE and SgpE is the yes-no questions add a tagged *yes-no* interrogative. Here are some examples:

She can come, yes or not?

She can come or not?

So you like the dress or not?

The use of 'is it' or 'isn't it' is common in question tags (Baskaran 2008a: 617).

He is always late, isn't it?

She likes cooking, isn't it?

(Baskaran 2008a: 616)

Au, he dance with us, isn't it?

(McLellan and Noor Azam 2012: 81)

She teach you how to swim, is it?

They give you a medal, is it?

(Alsagoff 1998: 244).

The operator 'do' is often omitted in *wh*-questions. In *wh*-questions that require subject-verb inversion, the subject-verb order is often retained (Baskaran 2008a: 615). There tends to be overgeneralization of word order in that the subject must always be followed by a verb.

Some examples of question forms:

What book you want to read? (omission of 'do')

How they are going? (lack of subject-verb inversion)

(Baskaran 2005: 147)

She took what? (omission of 'do')

(Alsagoff 1998: 244)

Modal auxiliaries

The modal auxiliary system is often reduced in colloquial MalE and SgpE. Usually only 'can' and 'must' are used with different functions, which in Standard English are served by some other modals (De Silva 1981). Here are some examples of the use of 'can' with differing meanings:

- You can have this book for a week. (permission)
- You can drive ah? (ability)
- Can lend me your bike or not. (willingness)
- Sure can./Can do. (agreement)
- How the food there? Can do. (moderate approval)
- You come with me lah. Can or not? (affirmation)
- How can he allow this to happen? (incredulity)
- Can't be she sick all this time. (improbability)
- Can't be she still not home. (improbability)
- Cannot be he take your money. (impossibility)
- Cannot be he do all this. (impossibility)

Got is very common in place of many other auxiliaries (Baskaran 2008a: 618). The following are some examples of the use of *got* with different meanings:

- Where *got* meaning?
- You *got* bring the book?

Tenses

Tense in formal or acrolectal MalE and SgpE is similar to Standard English in that events in the past, present and future are marked by the past, present and future tenses. However, in colloquial MalE and SgpE, tense and aspect are often not marked morphologically. Instead, it is common to use time markers like ‘yesterday’, ‘now’ and ‘tomorrow’. This is probably due to the influence of Malay, which has no deictic tense marking (Baskaran 2008a: 614). The simple and uninflected form is frequent for the present perfect like in the following examples:

- Since you start work here....
- Since she marry you....

In very informal conversations, there are instances of verbless complements in colloquial MalE such as ‘Where pain?’ The use of ‘-ing forms’ without an auxiliary like ‘Teacher coming’ is also common (Azirah and Tan 2012: 63–65). Many researchers (e.g., Platt and Weber 1980; Tay 1979; Alsagoff 1998; Lim 2004; Lim and Foley 2004) have pointed out that colloquial SgpE verbs often appear in an uninflected form; the past tense is not morphologically marked, and neither is the singular present tense:

- She eat here yesterday.
- He always go market with his sister.

If we compare the colloquial variety utterances with StdE, we see immediately the difference:

- She ate here yesterday.
- He always goes to the market with his sister.

In both MalE and SgpE, the verbs appear in their uninflected form. The time or aspectual information that the verbal inflection carries in StdE is often replaced by a time adverbial such as *yesterday*. Platt and Weber came to the conclusion that this lack of morphological marking cannot be a case of phonological reduction of consonant clusters as even with verbs whose past tense forms have vowel changes, e.g., *go-went*, *see-saw*, there is no difference between the present tense and the past tense forms:

- My mum she come from China many years ago!
- Oh, I see him last week.

(Platt and Weber 1980: 61)

For the third-person singular present-tense marking, Platt and Weber (1980) believe that the non-differentiation in terms of morphology of agreement forms is primarily a result of substrate influence, the reason being neither the Chinese dialects nor Malay have morphologically marked tense and agreement features. Another common feature is the preference for simple verb groups. Certain verb groups, for example, with *have* and *be*, are reduced so one would hear ‘My father pass away already’ in Singlish, rather than ‘My father has passed away’ in Standard English (Gupta 1996: 125). In one of the few works on IndoE, E. Aminudin (2003) shows IndoE to have similar features, for example, the ‘simplification’ of tense usage can also be found there. He adds that tenses are a difficult area for Indonesian learners and has these examples:

- I *go* to Bali last month.
- Linda *visit* her grandparents every month.

Dayag (2012: 96) mentions the use of the past perfect for the simple past or present perfect:

- I had not gone to class yesterday.
- The secretary had not reported for work last week.

The deletion of the copula *be* has also been discussed (e.g., Alsagoff and Ho 1998), as in, ‘She damn clever’. Another feature, prominence, is often given to the topic and takes initial position in the clause. This then results in a topic-comment structure as in the following example taken from Tan (2003).

- *Model answers* they have.
- *Which item* can’t remember.

This can also result in subject omission as can be seen in the second example above where the subject ‘I’ is dropped. Gupta (1996) identifies this as the presence of a ‘subjectless verb group’, a phenomenon known as pro-drop or pronoun dropping. Reduplication (where items are repeated) is also prominent in MalE, SgpE and BruE but it seems to occur only with monosyllabic and disyllabic verbs as the following examples show:

- You walk-walk halfway, think this is the route out.
- The two of them together sure *gossip-gossip* one *lah*.

(Lim 2004: 92)

As mentioned above, despite having taken different social, economic and political paths, the geographical proximity and shared cultural heritage means that there are bound to be similar linguistic features between MalE and SgpE. The following sections examine some of the common features between the two varieties with examples from SgpE to supplement those from MalE provided in

the overview, focusing in particular on particles. It is worth remembering that many of the features presented are likely to be more pervasive among speakers with a lower proficiency in English and are more likely to be used in informal contexts.

Particles

The use of one or several particles from available local languages like Chinese and Malay has been widely discussed in descriptions of MalE and SgpE (e.g., Lim 2004, 2007; Azirah and Tan 2012; Norizah and Azirah 2009; Li et al. 2016). Gupta (1992) identified 11 particles in SgpE, i.e., *ma*, *what*, *meh*, *geh*, *leh*, *na*, *la*, *lo*, *ho*, *ha* and *a* used by people who are in an environment where Chinese dialects are used. Her analysis reveals that the particles can be placed on a scale ranging from contradictory, assertive to tentative. According to her, *ma*, *what* and *a* convey contradiction; *meh*, *geh*, *leh*, *na*, *la* and *lo* express assertiveness, whereas *ho*, *ha* and *a* convey tentativeness. Directives can then be made more assertive or softer depending on the use of particles. Lim (2004) describes particles *la*, *ma*, *wat*, *meh*, *leh*, *lor*, *hor* and *hah* and their discourse-pragmatic functions. Many of them are also identified by Low and Brown (2005), who listed eight most common particles in SgpE – *ah*, *eh*, *hor*, *lah*, *lor*, *ma*, *meh* and *geh*.

Lim (2004), Low and Brown (2005) and others have argued that some of these particles carry tone, as in Chinese. Both Kwan-Terry (1992) and Wong (2004) have stated that particles uttered in different tones serve different functions. They argue that particles are pronounced in certain tones to convey particular meanings. Variation in the pronunciation of the particles has also been looked at as a feature of the intonation contour of the utterance (Goh 2003; Gupta 2006). Examples of particles in SgpE are given below.

- A: What do you want to talk about?
B: Anything under the sun *lah*.
- A: Come *lah*!
B: Where?
- A: How come you call me?
B: You page for me *ma*.

(Lim 2004: 118–119)

Many of the particles in SgpE are also used in MalE as in this example:
Interlocutor b: ewww! It didn't taste dubious? What about prawn mee then?

Hehe. You ok now?

Interlocutor a: no *lar* not from the crab ... already feeling sick in the morning prawn mee, dare not eat after that, it reminds me of puke!

haha ... still feel shitty but ok *lar*

Interlocutor b: You see doctor *lah*

(Li et al. 2016: 494)

Similar to Gupta (1992), Li et al. (2016) found that a single particle could have functions that act in opposite directions such as *lah*, which is ‘to soften an order or advice’, reduces social distance, while another of its functions, ‘to show disapproval, contradiction or disagreement in a harsh manner’. The same particle ‘has the opposite effect on social relationships’. They found two main functions of particles, either to reduce or to increase social distance. Their findings support Norizah and Azirah (2009: 43–44), who state that particles function to convey emotions and attitudes, such as ‘to soften a directive, place emphasis on a statement or word, and affirm a statement or turn a statement into a question’. Their analysis is based on a corpus of two million words derived from blogs, chats and instant messages, e-mails, and text messages of Malaysians. They highlight four particles: *bah*, *meh*, *ler* and *la*, which are said to have originated from Malay, Chinese and the local Sabahan (in East Malaysia) languages. The particle *bah* is the particle mainly highlighted in BruE (McLellan and Noor Azam 2012: 87) and Brunei, like Sabah and Sarawak in East Malaysia, is located on the island of Borneo. In all the varieties examined, discourse particles are important resources that enable speakers to convey their intentions in different ways and to get their message across indirectly.

Many MalE, SgpE and BruE particles have been traced to their possible sources in Malay or Chinese dialects such as Mandarin, Hokkien, Teochew and Cantonese, and in the case of MalE and BruE also to ethnic languages in Borneo. According to Lim (2007), the particle *ke/kah* for instance appears to have originated from Malay or Mandarin, *leh* from Hokkien and Teochew, and *geh* from Cantonese. As the majority of Singapore’s population is ethnic Chinese, the particles in Singaporean English are predominantly of Chinese origin; there are differences that can be seen with MalE spoken in a country that has a Malay majority population (Li et al. 2016: 483).

Lexis

Next to phonology and the accent, the lexis of languages and the nature and extent of borrowing is the most studied area. We must begin by saying that the lexical core of languages is a crucial element in assigning them to some language family within its geographic location. In Chapters Two and Three, we argued that all languages have been targets as well as origins of inbound and outbound migration so that new types of language contact have occurred. We will now combine a geographic or geo-political angle with a language perspective to highlight the lexis of major languages in Southeast Asia.

Lexical borrowing is a natural process in the spread of any language to a new territory. In the case of English in Southeast Asia, it began hundreds of years ago when traders and explorers came to the region and described what they saw. Bautista and Bolton (2008) highlighted a particular tendency shared by many varieties of world Englishes. There seem to be distinctive sets of words that date back to the crucible stage of first contact and early development for each of these varieties. The role of Malay is crucial. In the early period of contact, words were

borrowed into English based on explorations by researchers and adventurers who explored the jungles and lived with or amongst local Malays. Their reports were not really loans into MalE (or in different circumstances into other varieties) but were enrichments to native English as well as to other European languages. This will be discussed in Chapter Five. Words went into European languages like Spanish and Portuguese, often via New Latin, and hence into English amongst others. Prominent examples are *to run amok*, *sarong*, *ketchup* and other older loans. They became part of international English. This period went on into the 19th century with borrowed words like *atap* to describe architectural features (the roof) of a house. The *Oxford English Dictionary* shows that a measure of localization had taken place during the colonial period. Until independence, borrowing was done for local purposes and this process has accelerated and deepened since. To the extent that English was implanted and re-culturalized in Malaysia and Singapore, loans were drawn from local languages and, for religious purposes, also from Arabic.

Contemporary loanwords are examined here focusing in particular on MalE, SgpE and BruE. *Rakyat* ‘nation’, for instance, is an important and frequent political term that is often employed for political purposes in Malaysia, especially to unite the Malays (Azirah and Tan 2012; Tan 2013).

‘This momentum that we are experiencing is not because the *rakyat* loves Umno, but more so because the *rakyat* is angry at Pakatan. If we want the *rakyat* to love us, there are several tests that we need to pass’, he said in his winding-up speech at the end of the youth assembly (Shahril: Umno members must not return to old habits, *The Star*, 6 December 2019).

The Yang di-Pertuan Agong Tuanku ... yesterday urged the *rakyat* to gather their strength and redouble efforts to build the country based on... (Headline, *New Straits Times*, 6 February 2012).

Innovations in English are quite frequent too, such as ‘On the border is perhaps *to play the Muslim card* (*The Star*, 1 Jan 2012)’ and ‘Non-Muslim cops relieve muslim comrades during *breaking of fast* (Headline, *The Star*, 27 April 2020)’.

Lexical items in Phile can be traced back to American colonial officials, soldiers, sailors and the Thomasites, who were the first American settlers who found themselves confronted with new experiences which needed new lexical items. These were created through a number of linguistic processes, including (i) the borrowing of words from local languages, (ii) the borrowing from other Englishes, (iii) the formation of new words and new compounds in English, and (iv) the adaptation of the lexicon brought from the British or American homeland. Examples of early borrowings from Tagalog are *anting-anting* (‘an amulet’), *pili* (‘a tree and its edible nut’) and *tuba* (‘an alcoholic drink made from coconut sap’). There were also borrowings from Spanish via Philippine languages such as *abaca* (hemp), *anito* (ancestor spirits), *barrio* (neighbourhood) and *fiesta* (feast). Words considered archaic such as *solon* for ‘law-maker’ or ‘legislator’ are still used in Phile (Bautista and Bolton 2008: 177; Dayag 2012: 95).

Loans can now be found in a number of domains and have been described by many scholars such as Ooi (2001), Tan (2009, 2010), Baskaran (2005, 2008) and Azirah and Leitner (2016). A fairly consensual cluster of domains is surveyed below. Baskaran (2005) categorized lexical items in MalE according to whether they came from a local substrate language referent or whether they had a different meaning or referent from BrE (Standard English lexicalization). Under Substrate Language Referent, she suggests six categories:

1. Institutional concepts, e.g., *bumiputera* (sons of the soil)
2. emotional and cultural loading, e.g., *kampong* (village), *penghulu* (headman)
3. semantic restriction, e.g., *changkul* (hoe), *lallang* (wild grass)
4. cultural and culinary items, e.g., *Hari Raya* (Eid), *angpow* (red packet), *Thaipusam* (Indian festival), *thosai* (Indian flat bread)
5. hyponymous collocations, e.g., *angsana* (a kind of tree) *tree*, *bersanding* (sitting on a dais) *ceremony*, *batik* (Malaysian design) *cloth*
6. coinages, e.g., *teruk* (terrible), *leceh* (troublesome), *doongu* (stupid person)

Under Standard English lexicalization, there are another six sub-categories:

1. polysemic variation, e.g., *cut* (*slice*) to also mean *overtake* or *reduce*
2. semantic restrictions, e.g., *coffee shop*, *outstation*
3. informalization, e.g., *hubby* instead of husband, *line* instead of profession
4. formalization, e.g., letter asking a friend to *furnish* him with the details
5. directional reversal, e.g., *go/come*, *bring/send*, *borrow/lend*
6. colloquialisms, e.g., *econs* for economics

Ooi (2001) suggested five main groups in SgpE and MalE:

1. Group A: Core English includes standard English words as well as non-English words which are known globally, e.g., *kungfu*, *sari*, *lychee*
2. Group B: SME/English words acceptable in formal situations, e.g., *tuition teacher*, *love letters* (a kind of biscuit), *steamboat* (a kind of cooking)
3. Group C: SME/non-English words or hybrids of non-English origin accepted and understood by SME speakers in both formal and informal situations, e.g., *songkok* (a Muslim man's hat), *bumiputra* (sons of the soil)
4. Group D: SME/English words acceptable in informal situations, e.g., *cut* (overtake), *keep* (put away)
5. Group E: SME/non-English words acceptable in informal situations, e.g., *kiasu* (wanting to win), *Mat Salleh* (a Caucasian), *shiok* (amazing)

In her study of urban youth in Malaysia, David (2000) provided examples of slang and code mixing which give meanings to new words such as '*blur*' (not in the know), '*havoc-lah*' (trouble or chaos), '*aksi*' (to behave arrogantly) and

'*lepaking*' (to hang about). Some of these words may be a temporary fad and may not last after a certain phase. Azirah and Norizah (2012) in their analysis of data from social media by Malaysians found examples of language contact from different languages, for example, *kampung* comes from Malay, *macha* from Tamil and *angpow* from Chinese. The examples below are categorized according to types. For food and beverage, there are loans such as *roti canai* (flatbread) and *tuak* (an alcoholic beverage popular among the Ibans of Sarawak during the Gawai festivals). For arts and culture, loans like *angpow* (red packets with money given during Chinese New Year) and *kampong* (hometown) are well accepted in MalE, also used in SgpE and BruE. Ethnic names/family terms are used for people who indulge in certain activities or practices such as *Mat Rempit*, used to refer to illegal bikers and *Macha* (a Tamil word for brother used for male friends or acquaintances (Azirah et al. 2012).

Tan (2009) explored the contact between English and Chinese and the incorporation of Chinese borrowings into MalE on the basis of her corpus of MalE newspapers. She identified loan words, compound blends and loan translations in the semantic fields of food, festivals, people, martial arts, traditional Chinese medicine and others mainly from Hokkien, Cantonese and Mandarin. Here are some examples: *kalian* (a vegetable), *amah* (domestic helper) and *tai chi* (a kind of martial arts); compound blends: *kuay teow soup* (a soup dish), *Chinese sinseh* (a Chinese medicine man) and *angpow packet* (red money packets); and loan translations: *Hainanese chicken rice*, *Mid Autumn Festival* and *coffee shop*.

In another study, Tan (2009) analyzed a corpus consisting of words and phrases of Malay origin in MalE. Phonemic substitution in Malay loanwords is uncommon, therefore simple words like *madrasah* ('Islamic school'), *pawang* ('soothsayer') and *teh tarik* ('a kind of tea') are reproduced in MalE in their original Malay spelling. Compound blends which are nominal compound borrowings such as *beef rendang* ('a spicy beef dish') and *pondok school* ('village school') are frequent. In each case, the Malay compound form is broken down into its component morphemes and imported. One of them replaced the other with an English equivalent (Tan 2009: 26). Loan translations, for example, *God willing*, is a loan translation of the Malay (in this case originally Arabic) expression *Insyaallah*. It is used to prefix a statement of positive intent or aspiration.

While quite a few studies have looked at Malay, Chinese and Tamil words in MalE, SgpE and BruE, not much has been done on Arabic loanwords, which are found increasingly in Muslim majority countries, in MalE, BruE and IndoE. Azirah and Leitner (2016) examined Arabic loans in a corpus of Arabic loan words in the Malaysian media in the domain of law, religion and finance and found they fulfill functions beyond the 'filling of lexical gaps'. Like in other languages, Arabic loans are mainly nouns but there are also verbs, adjectives and exclamations. Their number is larger in the Malay press than in the English press. *Berterawih* (to pray) and *rafak* (to rise) are verbs; *daif* (weak), *thabat* (permanent)

and *wajib* (compulsory) are adjectives; *Alhamdulillah* (praise be to Allah) and the globally known *Insya 'allah* (God willing) are ritual expressions.

The following semantic domains of Arabic loans are found:

In the domain of religion and institutions: *terawih* (prayer performed at night during Ramadhan), *mufti* (deliverer of legal opinion), *halal* (permissible according to religious law).

In the domain of festivals/sacred days: *Aidiladha* (festival to celebrate the Hajj), *Maulidur Rasul* (birth of the Prophet), *Maal Hijrah* (new year of the Muslim calendar).

In the domain of law: *fiqh* (jurisprudence), *hudud* (Islamic criminal law), *nafkah* (maintenance).

In the domain of titles: *almarhum* (deceased), *Sultan* (Ruler), *bin* and *binti* (signalling male and female descent).

In the domain of banking: *khazanah* (possessions), *takaful* (Islamic insurance), *sukuk* (deed).

In the domain of values: *wajib* (compulsory), *halal* (permissible), *adab* (courteous).
(Azirah and Leitner 2016)

McLellan and Noor Azam (2012: 82) gave the following example in BruE:

members of *Syariah* Advisory Committee, staff of *Takaful* IBB Berhad and other guests also attended the ceremony.... To end the ceremony, *Doa Al-Fatihah* was read, followed by the breaking of fast and *Maghrib* Prayers.

They provide this explanation for the use of Arabic lexis:

Syariah is the Arabic term for Islamic law; *Takaful* IBB Berhad is the name of an Islamic insurance company; *Doa Al-Fatihah* refers to the first seven verses of the Qu'ran recited at the beginning and at the end of formal gatherings and *Maghrib* ('setting sun' in Arabic) denotes the fourth of the five obligatory daily prayer times for Muslims. In the newspaper texts these items are not flagged by the use of italics or inverted commas, nor are they glossed or explained in English. It is expected that the readers of the *Borneo Bulletin* newspaper, the source of these examples, will be familiar with the Malay and Arabic terms.

Based on a survey on currency of loans among Malaysians, Azirah and Leitner (2011) found that some Arabic loan words are more widely known across ethnic groups in the country and signal an integrative usage in MaIE. Others show stratified patterns across ethnic, religious and age groups, which would reveal the maintenance and accentuation of ethnic lines. Due to the spread of Buddhism and Indian political power, Sanskrit emerged as borrowed words between the 7th and 13th centuries across SEA. These words came to be used in Khmer (Woźnica 2010) and led to significant phonological and scriptural adaptations. According

to Jacob (1993), Khmer has deliberately borrowed from various languages through the centuries. Some of them are short-lived, others stay on and become accepted as Khmer. In early Khmer, Thai words were found in poetry and French words found in modern novels. Borrowings from Sanskrit, Pali, Chinese, Thai, Vietnamese, Portuguese, French and English can be found in the Khmer lexicon. Jacob gives a historical survey of loan words from the pre-Angkor and Angkor periods (7th–14th centuries AD) until the mid-20th century. Sanskrit loan words were used in law, religion and politics. Pali words were used in Buddhist teachings. French words came into Khmer from the last decades of the 19th century and were absorbed and naturalized. In more recent times, English has been the main language where loan words have come from. (<http://sealang.net/sala/archives/pdf8/jacob1993deliberate.pdf>).

A feature of SEA English is that BrE words can shift semantically or widen or narrow their referents. Bautista and Gonzalez (2006) provide two examples from SgpE, which are also found in MalE. First, *stay* is used for permanent or long-term residence unlike in BrE where it is used for temporary or short stays. Second, *keep* describes an activity – *I'm going to keep these photos in that drawer*; however, in BrE it describes a state – *The tools are kept in the shed*. Kirkpatrick (2012) gives other examples for meaning shift that occurs in BruE, e.g., *confident* and *proud*. *Confident* has only negative connotations and means *over-confident* or *arrogant*. Similarly, *proud* has only negative connotations and is a translation equivalent of the Malay word *sombong*, which means *haughty*. Also, the shift of meaning of the word *bring* to the meaning of *take* in BrE:

- Thank you Shell! I'll use the money to *bring* my family for a holiday in Melaka' (Kirkpatrick 2012: 19).

Dayag (2012: 64) gives examples from PhilE such as *blow-out*, which means treating others to a snack or a meal with or without an occasion, and *topnotcher* is anyone who tops a contest, an election or an exam.

Hybrids where a compound is formed of words from different languages are also common in the new varieties of English of the region. Examples are *buco juice* (the juice of a young coconut), *pulot boy* (a tennis ball boy), *common tao* (an ordinary Filipino) in PhilE, or *ice kachang* (dessert of ice with syrup and jelly), *mama shop* (convenience stores), *sarong partygirl* (a local, solely Asian woman who usually dresses and behaves in a provocative manner, and who exclusively dates and prefers white men) in SgpE (Kirkpatrick 2007).

ThaiE which is not yet an established variety has many Thai borrowings as shown by Bennui (2019) who analyzed Thai lexical borrowing in magazines. He identified six types of Thai lexical borrowing – loan words, loan blends, loan shifts, loan creation, pronunciation borrowing, and acronyms. He shows the functional domains proposed by Haspelmath and Tadmor (2009) in ThaiE: physical words (toponyms); food and drinks; clothing and grooming (clothing); the house (housing); agriculture and vegetation (nature, agriculture and tree); quantity (Thai measurement units for quantifying lands); kinship-speech and language (titles

and addressing terms); religion and beliefs (cultural festivals, religion and beliefs, art-music-literature-performance); motion (sport) and modern world (medicine), among others. Moreover, they are based on the emerging domains found by the researcher. The most common domain belongs to toponyms as well as food and drinks. Some remarkable toponyms are illustrated below.

Lexical innovations as well as new collocations are so many in these varieties that, according to Bautista and Gonzalez (2006), they have now been gathered in the multisourced Macquarie junior dictionaries of Asian English for Singapore, Malaysian and Brunei English, and *Anvil-Macquarie Dictionary of Philippine English for High School* (2000) for PhilE. Other dictionaries have also incorporated these borrowings and codified them as words that have become part of the English language.

Summary

In describing characteristics of national and colloquial forms of English, we turned to some studies of their usage and distinctive features of a few varieties of English in the region. We have tended to highlight features of mainly colloquial forms rather than standard versions in older studies and more recent studies. Most of the research has been carried out on SgpE, MalE and PhilE and to some extent BruE. Some comparisons are made if features are not unique to a particular variety. MalE and SgE features overlap to a considerable degree given their common sociopolitical history and make-up of the population. On the other hand, given that both countries went their separate ways in 1965, there is also sociolinguistic differentiation in terms of language policy and substrate language influences (Baskaran 2008a). BruE has some features in common with these two varieties given the similar ethnic make-up of the country, shared history and its location close to East Malaysia. PhilE, although a former Anglophone country too, its phonology and other features may be skewed towards American English due to its American roots. Its long colonization by the Spanish also sees several Spanish words entering into PhilE through Tagalog. There is limited discussion on English in some of the ASEAN countries which have not yet developed strong varieties of English. Pillai and Ong (2018: 147), in arguing that MalE shows effects of transfer from cultural background and identities, state that ‘most varieties of English that emerge in multilingual communities show language innovations as speakers transfer the cultural conventions and linguistic patterns of their L1 and the local social, environmental and cultural context into their variety of English’. We included some early borrowings into English to illustrate some local phenomena and how lexical items can undergo semantic shift when used in newer varieties of English. We highlighted some unique phonological and grammatical features and some which are common across different varieties. Particles appear to be commonly used, especially in SgpE and MalE, and are borrowed from languages that are spoken in these countries. Comparisons of features across varieties also

indicate that when donor languages are shared like the languages associated with religion, cross-local layers in a habitat's participating languages may produce an internal segmentation of, or division between, religious communities. Some nations may see processes of integration that would lead to an overarching commonness of transforming habitat (Leitner 2014).

5 Language contact and the development of English in Southeast Asia

The preceding chapters highlighted the history and texture of the five language families in the region, traditional language habitats and their transformations due to more recent immigrant languages. We then turned to the history of English and described some of the major features of a selection of national varieties. While language contact was referred to on several linguistic levels, the outcomes of the contact of English with local habitat languages and with Arabic in lexis will be addressed here.

Background to language contact in lexis

We stated in Chapter Three that many Southeast Asian (SEA) countries were under the influence of southern Indian kingdoms, which also had linguistic outcomes. The influence from Tamil and Sanskrit can be found in a number of SEA languages. Malay, for instance, had an Indian writing system called Pallava, which evolved into Kawi. It was replaced by a modified Arabic script, called Jawi, in the 12th century and by the Roman alphabet, called Rumi, in the 18th century. Rumi and Jawi co-exist today, with Jawi mainly used for Islamic purposes. As European explorers and adventurers travelled to SEA from the 15th century, a number of Malay words can be found in European languages, e.g., in Portuguese, Italian, French, German and English. They were often recorded in New Latin where they would acquire standardized spellings, etc. that would be adopted across Europe. While some words, thus, entered English indirectly, direct influence of SEA languages came with trade, occupation, colonization and since independence, intensified with the developing varieties of English.

The East India Company had acquired Penang in 1786, as mentioned earlier, and turned it into a trading post and harbour (*see* Chapter Three). The Company gained Malacca from the Dutch and British influence expanded in the region subsequently, especially when Singapore was acquired in 1819. It was considered to be British in the Anglo-Dutch Treaty of London in 1824. Old commercial and cultural networks encouraged contacts between Malays, Chinese and Indians. In Malaya (the former name of Malaysia of which Singapore was a part), the British initiated large-scale population movements and migrations from China and South India in the 19th century. The Chinese largely worked in the tin mines and the

Indians in rubber plantations. The Chinese and Indian minorities' languages, i.e., Chinese dialects (e.g., Hokkien, Cantonese), Tamil and other Indian languages, started to take roots (complementing the old Indian presence there), while English was the language of governance. An education system with English and Malay was created and missionary schools for the Chinese and Indians. Recent work-related migrations from Indonesia, the Philippines, Thailand and elsewhere strengthened the multicultural and multilingual texture. ASEAN, finally, created a regional public domain, making English a regional lingua franca, which local languages have begun to influence. Arabic has significance in Syariah Courts (*see* Chapter Six), in commerce, banking and religion in Islam-influenced countries like Malaysia, Brunei and Indonesia. Widespread bilingualism and multilingualism in various combinations of local and external languages is common among people who have acquired English as a second language and, in some cases, maintain it as their primary language in many everyday domains. Numerous contact-induced changes have occurred in the local varieties of English.

Lexical borrowing

We first look at how English has borrowed from other languages in the colonies and assimilated words. Etymological dictionaries such as the *Oxford English Dictionary* first published in 1885 and *Hobson-Jobson* in 1896 show that English borrowed from a number of languages. *Amok*, for instance, is said to come from Malay and is often compared with Norse *berserk*, but it may also be from Malayalam. *Dhobi* is clearly from Hindi. Both words are widely known loan words. But the tracing of etymologies may not always be easy in a contact scenario that spans some 500 years and that shares a variety of languages from the same family (Cannon 1992, 2000; Food 1895; Scott 1896, 1897). It is not always clear whether Malay, Indian, Chinese or Arabic words entered English in the Malayan region or in areas closer to their original location or whether they have come in through other languages. Words like *coolie* or *kongsi* did not originate in Malaya although they are used there. Even now it may be difficult to decide whether, for instance, Arabic words made it into MalE directly from Arabic or from Malay. *Ceramah*, for example, is ultimately from Arabic but is felt to be as MalE as the Malay or Chinese loan *ketchup* is worldwide. 'Javanese gave Malay many words, some of which were borrowed from Javanese into English but some came from Malay into English' (Cannon 1992: 138). Then there are words that are related to migration patterns into the Malay world. Tamil and Chinese immigrants brought their languages with them; it is therefore difficult to determine if English obtained items such as *chunam*, *kangany* and *mango* from the Tamil spoken in India and Sri Lanka or from the intermediate transmission through the Malay borrowings from Tamil. In addition, Indian culture and religion borrowed many items from Sanskrit (*naga*, *puja*, *sakti*, *talipot*, *wat*), Hindi (*chnadu*, *ganja*, *rani*, *sitar*, *syce*) and these words went into Malay and then into English. Chinese words like *sampan* and *samshu* were also borrowed into Malay and many Chinese who have settled in Malaysia, Singapore and Brunei

continue to add Cantonese, Hokkien, Mandarin and other Chinese dialect words into Malay and English. Some words have travelled between Asian languages until they made it into English. We are not studying the etymological paths until a loanword made it into English. We are interested in the (ultimate) origin of the few words we use for illustration.

The impact of Malay on English has mainly been studied within historical dialectology (Scott 1896, 1897) and on the basis of items found in current dictionaries. Scott's works on Malayan words in English described a collection of Malay words taken from English literature, travel and exploration books, history books, dictionaries and others that use words that have come from

the East-Indian or Malayan Archipelago, the land of the *orang-utan* and the *sapi-utan*, of the *babirusa* and the *banteng*, of the *bruang* and the *dugong*, of the *siamang*, the *kahau*, and the *wauwau*, of the *maleo* and the *cassowary* ... the *kris* and the *gong*.

(Scott 1896: 93)

Native Malay words were identified by three rules in his works, i.e., the word must be in English use, it must be found in one or more Malay dictionaries and if not ultimately Malay, it must at least have originated from the Malayan region (Scott 1896: 96). Meanings of these words were explored with variations in different Malay dialects, Malay versions in Malay and the year in which they were found to be in use. An example is *beruang*, which he describes as:

The Malayan bear ... also, the honey-bear and the sun-bear.
The Malay name is *bruang*, *bruwang*, *beruwang*;

‘Achinese *beruwang*, Batak *beruwang*, Sundanese *bruwang*, *baruang*, Bugis *buruang*. According to Swettenhan the word probably stands for **ber-ruang*, from *ber-*, a verbal prefix, and *ruang*, a hole; meaning ‘the animal which lives in a hollow’.

Other entries are:

Campong:

Campong, also *kampong*, a Malayan village, a district or quarter of a city, an inclosure; the source of the Anglo-Indian term COMPOUND (Scott 1896: 118).

Durian:

A rich East Indian fruit; also the tree which it grows, *Duro zibethinus*. Also spelt *durian*, *durien*, *durean*, *dorian*, *Duroyen*; The fruit has a thick rind set with short spines. It is in Achinese *durian*, *derien*, Lampong *deriyan*, Javanese *duren*, Amboina *torian*, *tolian*, *turen*, *tureno*, *torane*.

Durian a rich fruit much prized by the natives, but to which the European palate does not readily accommodate itself (Scott 1896: 137).

Gong:

A well-known instrument of sound. It is commonly regarded as Chinese; but the name and thing are of Malay origin.

The European forms are English *gong*, formerly also *ghong* (1698), sometimes in the Spanish form *gongo* (1613), French *gong*, Dutch *gong*, *gonggong*, German *gong*, *gonggong*, *gongon*, Swedish *gong*, *gonggong*, Danish *gongon*' (Scott 1896: 49).

The *Oxford English Dictionary* had 354 words with etymology from the Malay world in 2007. In the 16th century, 35 words often entering English through Portuguese or Dutch were attested and the peak of the borrowing from the Malay world was the 19th century with 141 words attested during this time. During British colonization, Malay words tended to reach English directly from Malay and not mediated through speakers of European languages as before (Gupta 2008: 358). Cannon (1992) identified 368 'primary' or direct Malay words in seven Anglo-American dictionaries. About 100 came into English prior to Britain's direct political involvement, although there were naturalists from Britain who lived with Malays in rainforests where they collected species from flora, observed fauna and social customs and had become 'vehicles' of contact outcomes. Cannon (1992) found major semantic fields in politics, military, food, Islam, money and clothing. There are nine food items, with six for *tapenade* ('starters'), *hummus* ('dips'), *halim* ('soup'), *falafel* ('sandwich') or *tabbouleh* ('salad'), *tandoori* (the 'cooking device') and *karamu* (the 'Kwanza feast'). The domains affected, i.e., fauna and flora, social practices and material culture came out strongly in such studies.

To give a few examples of the way loanwords can take roots in European languages, expand their meanings and referents, and become even technical words, we will take a look at (*to run*) *amok* again. Portuguese explorers may have been the first to have witnessed *amok* incidents during their explorations. From Portuguese the word then entered other European languages with several spelling variants such as *amuck* or *a muck* in the late 16th century. It was picked up by early amateur lexicographers such as Yule and Burnell, who included the word into the *Hobson-Jobson*, which has a long entry of *a muck*. Crawford (1850) argued earlier that *amok* was passed into English as 'amuck', that it originates from the Malay word depicting a sudden homicidal attack and that the 'a' that precedes 'muck' in English is not the indefinite English article, but part of the word itself and should be joined to it (Ee 1991). Apart from *amoker* for the agent of an *amok*, there is zero derivation in *amok* for 'an incident of *amok*'. There are no other derivatives.

As for the meanings of *amok*, the word was used in the early 17th century in Malayalam in India and in various places in Malaya for a collective act of mass killings in warfare. Those who 'ran *amok*' in India, called *amouchi* or *amuco*, did so as 'warriors' similar to the *berserkers* in Europe (Speidel 2002). That reference is now only historic. The word has also been used, as mentioned above, to describe

individual acts of killings in Malaya, which has become its typical meaning. Early European uses defined it as individual acts of multiple murders under the impact of some sort of madness. Origins of *amok* (Mayer 2009) were of a medical condition and did not result from a criminal intention; no amoker was punished for a criminal act (Knecht 1999). *Amok* arose from a state of mind that made individuals *run amok*. Ellis (1893), for instance, wrote that ‘A Malay who runs amok is always in a state of furious homicidal passion, and runs armed through the most crowded street or village stabbing right and left’ (Ellis 1893: 21). Carr and Tan (1976) describe it as ‘a form of mental illness within the Malay culture’ (1976: 1296). Colonial medicine and anthropological studies described it as a culture-bound syndrome peculiar to the Malays with particular reasons and causes or as murders committed by solitary men acting in a fit of passion. Other causes include possession by evil spirits, bereavement and depression. It has become a technical term in psychiatry. *The Universal Lexicon* by Zedler (1732–1750) refers to ‘*amuck*’ as an Indian word and Meyer (1840–1853) defined it as a Malay word which means ‘strike dead!’ He writes ‘This murderous manifestations of the highest opium intoxicification one calls *Amok*, Amoklaufen (G)’ (Waruno Mahdi 2007: 243). Later, Williamson (2007) wrote that during the colonial period *amok* could be violent acts that were anti-modern remnants featuring the Malay population. That account left the domain of medicine and would have a political association. Thus, throughout the 20th century *amok* was used to analyze Malaysian politics and national security.

In public and press usages, the word soon lost its culture-bound and medical associations and was, as mass killings occurred outside Malaya, extended to all sorts of multiple murders wherever they occurred. Mass killings in American or European schools and universities could be called *amok*. The press also developed metaphorical and even humorous extensions. *The Times*, UK, for instance, had a headline ‘Insane man runs *amok*’ in 1917 and ‘Steamer ship runs *amok*’ in 1922. In 1958, one finds ‘State elephant runs *amok* and kills four’ and ‘Blue chips run *amok* in territory once impregnable’ (1978). Or ‘McNeil’s new boys run *amok* in Palace outing’ (1983) and ‘Soccer mob *amok* on train’ (1985). This last example shows *amok* as a verb. Such uses foreground the multiplicity of affected persons or things and the loss of control of the agent.

We now turn to loan words of another era, loans that entered into English after independence and which signal localization of MalE. On the basis of a MalE newspaper corpus, Tan (2009) found 85 Chinese loans, most of which, she says, have remained local or regional. Her data showed a small set of domains such as food, festivals, performing arts, traditional medicine, martial arts, people and spaces. Some words like *kiasu* from Hokkien have become significant culturally and confined to the region (Tan 2009; Low 2012). It is a word often used to refer to Singaporean people and their competitive drive (Wierzbicka 2003). It initially started to be used in Singapore but its use has extended to MalE as well and possibly to BruE. Other researchers have given examples of cultural and culinary loans from the different languages in Malaysia in MalE (David 2003; Azirah 2002, 2007; David and Yong 2002; Baskaran 2005). Low (2012: 47) lists

borrowings for food items, cultural references and religious practices and character traits in her description of SgpE. Such loans are also found in other varieties as Chinese has long been important in the region. Other examples are given, such as compounding: *kancheong* (Hokkien) *spider* and *blur sotong* (Malay) ‘to describe someone as being overly anxious and being clueless, respectively.’ Lim (2010), in her study of Peranakan English in Singapore, noted that there was extensive contact between English, Chinese dialects and Malay. The English spoken by Peranakans in Singapore has its own features arising from contact between English and Baba Malay. Baba Malay itself contains Hokkien loanwords for words such as address practices, food, cultural and religious practices, etc. As this community is also found in Malaysia, especially in Malacca, similar features would be used in MaE by this group of speakers. Tan (2009) provides examples of compound blends, e.g., nominal compound hybrids in MaE such as *beef rendang* (spicy beef dish), *batik cloth* (Malay *kain batik*, a traditional textile), *pondok school* (Islamic school), *bersanding ceremony* (Malay wedding ceremony) and *mamak stall* (stall run by an Indian Muslim). In each case, the MaE user appears to have borrowed and broken down a Malay compound form into its component morphemes, imported one of them and replaced the other with an English equivalent.

Many Malay loans from fauna and flora have a stable place in international English and some such as *orang utan* have wider applications in the press, etc. Given that these domains have established taxonomies, and that extensive semantic change has not been recorded, there are hardly any recent loans in this domain. An interesting one is *boss ku* ‘my friend’, a word that came up in the context of the former Malaysian prime minister Najib Razak’s loss of office. It is widely used in the public domain and the press, as this example shows: ‘A former public relations consultant to Datuk Seri Najib Razak has suggested that the current “Bossku” campaign employed by the ex-prime minister could have its roots in his experience in digital media, including handling crises like the twin Malaysia Airlines disasters’ (*Malay Mail*, 28 August 2019). But one can assume its frequency will diminish soon with a widely restricted set of referents.

Arabic was and is used in Islamic contexts. Its role as a former trade and migrant language and as a religious language introduced influences ranging from the classical to the colloquial and dialectal spheres (Beg 1979; Versteegh 2001). Along with the *Jawi* script for Malay, which is still used in Islamic contexts and by very conservative Malay Muslims today, Arabic has influenced writing, pronunciation, word formation, grammar, pragmatics and discourse. It is pervasive at party political rallies of, e.g., UMNO, the major Islamic party in Malaysia. Arabic has maintained its position as a religious language and its presence today in the interactions of Malay Muslims indicates its popularity. Arabic is a strong donor language from several perspectives (Beg 1979; Deveux 2019; Campbell 1996). Once again, there are international words where we cannot tell where they were borrowed first. Such words are increasingly found in Islamic finance like *sukuk*, international Islamic terrorism like *jihad*, more rarely in discussions of Islam or Islamic law like *syariah laws*, *hudud* ‘criminal law’, *haj* ‘pilgrimage to Mecca’.

Frequent, too, are some names for Islamic communities like *Salafists* and *Shi'ites* (see below). There are many loan words that can be found in countries with a majority or strong Islamic community. These count as typical of local varieties of English or as an Islamic-Arabic lexical layer (Azirah, Leitner and Aqad 2016).

Tan's study (2009) identified terms for Islamic organizations (e.g., *Islamic Jihad*), for rulings drawn from the Quran or based on Islamic council decisions, as in the Ayatollah's *fatwa* against Salman Rushdie and in various Arab *fatwas* since then (Azirah and Leitner 2016). Some of these words are international but they may be used more frequently in Islamic countries in the region. In Brunei, a Malay Islamic monarchy and a former British protectorate, Arabic lexical items are frequent in BruE. Common are words that denote Islamic religious concepts and practices (David and McLellan 2007; McLellan and Noor Azam 2012: 82). They provide the following examples:

members of *Syariah* Advisory Committee, staff of *Takaful IBB Berhad* and other guests also attended the ceremony....To end the ceremony, *Doa Al-Fatihah* was read, followed by the breaking of fast and *Maghrib Prayers*.

Prominent financial terms are *takaful* and *sukuk*. *Sukuk* is a financial certificate and is similar to a conventional bond with the difference that it is asset-backed. It 'represents proportionate beneficial ownership' (Institute of Islamic Banking and Insurance n.d.) and is used to, for example, replace housing loans by a lease-back system. An interesting pattern for *takaful* can be found in the 17 million word corpus of Global Web-based English (GloWbE). There is a total of 898 tokens of *takaful* and only 23 come from the inner-circle varieties of English (Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand). In the domain of (personal) finance, *The Malay Mail* of 9 September 2013 carries a business report explaining, to quote, '*zakat* is for "*fakir* or the needy", " *miskin* or poor" or "*gharmin* – those who have suffered many debts but are unable to settle them"'. Such terms have a mainly technical meaning and are used in consumer portals. They can, in principle, be found in BrE and other languages, which occasionally deal with Islamic finances.

There are also loan translations such as *God willing (Inshaallah)*: 'God willing, we will win the individual event. But we can only win two medals as the rules say each nation can only win two even if the third rider scores enough to win the bronze' (Quzandria Nur, Malaysian rider) (*The New Straits Times*, 11 September 2001). Political speeches can also be heavily influenced by Islamic rhetorics (Azirah and Leitner 2016).

We now move on to language contact in the Philippines. With 300 years of Spanish rule prior to colonization by Americans, Spanish has greatly influenced Tagalog. Many Filipinos may not be aware that they are using Spanish borrowings as the Spanish borrowings into Tagalog are spelled according to Tagalog spelling conventions (Thompson 2003). The Spanish were not known to have spread their language to the locals; however, locals would have been in contact with Spanish speakers in their communities and Spanish priests did attempt to learn the local

language for their missionary work and hence used Spanish words and phrases for new concepts and unfamiliar words (Thompson 2003: 61). Borrowings from Tagalog and Spanish are found in several domains in PhilE as in MalE, SgpE and BruE: flora and fauna, e.g., *abaca* and *acacia*; food, e.g., *bibingka* or rice cake; national identity/culture, e.g., *amor propio* or self-esteem; politics, e.g., *barangay* or village (Dayag 2012: 95). Taglish, a term for colloquial PhilE, involves a mix of Tagalog and English that has received considerable attention (e.g., Bautista 1997, 2004; Dayag 2012). Taglish occurs widely in both oral and written forms in media, sports commentary, commercials, tabloids, as well as informal talk and classrooms, among many others (Schneider 2016). It is also used on electronic platforms as text and as messaging apps apart from blogs and other chats. What follows is from one of Bautista's (2004) Taglish examples:

A: Has anybody ever tried to, you know, bribe you into silence?

B: Bribery is such a ticklish subject. *Pag nagsalita ka* [when you talk about it], they'd say '*Aynaku* [Oh gosh], she's trying to be holier than thou'. But the network is very strict about it.

A: What about partiality, you know?

Gonzales (2017) argues that PhilE is unique in that through contact with several other languages, further sub-classifications based on substrate English as a native language or based on geography may be plausible. He identifies sub-varieties such as Hokaglish, which is also popularly known as *Salamtsamoe* (loosely translated from Hokkien as 'mix-mix'). Hokaglish is considered a mixed language that essentially involves three languages – Hokkien, Tagalog and English. It is also likely that Spanish, Mandarin and Cantonese play a part in the formation of Hokaglish, as observed in the history of the Philippine language ecology. The following is an example:

A: *A ni ba?* [Like that?]

B: *Di u hoat thang boe* [You can buy] fifty percent a.

From the soya milk you can earn fifty percent per bottle.

A: *Than siami a?* [How much would you earn?]

B: You sell it for twenty pesos.

Gonzales (2017) claims that Hokaglish is an English hybrid and can be distinguished from Singlish and other X-Englishes in that it has relatively small English mixing probably due to English's relatively late entrance into the language ecology of the Philippines, unlike Tagalog. Furthermore, Hokaglish is unlike Taglish in that it appears to be stigmatized among Chinese community members despite its widespread use. But it is not officially stigmatized by government as Singlish is in Singapore.

We now move to language contact in countries that were not Anglophone colonies. English in Thailand has evolved through direct and indirect contact with the British and Americans. Bennui and Azirah (2014) describe stages of its development (Schneider 2007) in order to ascertain whether English still depends on a native variety of English for what are considered norms or if it has developed its own linguistic norms similar to those in other postcolonial countries. British contact with Thailand started in 1612 when a diplomat, Sir Thomas Essington, and the British East India Company merchant, Lucas Antheunis, were permitted by King Songtham (reign, 1611–1628) to open a trading outpost in Ayutthaya (the then capital of Thailand). Interactions between Thailand and Britain were tied to commerce and not to colonization (Schneider 2007). Today, English is generally accepted as the international language of Thais. Examples of lexical borrowings by Trakulkasemsuk (2012: 105) include *acharn* (a teacher), *farang* (a foreigner), *khun* (a polite title used before the first name of a man or woman) and *muang* (a city or town). Parinda Jantori (2007) investigates lexical innovation in ThaiE from 30 feature articles of the English newspaper *Bangkok Post* from June 30 to August 11, 2006. Her analysis of bilinguals' creativity and contact literature reveals that innovations are found in four processes of linguistic distinctiveness. The first refers to the transfer of religious, sociocultural elements which are present in the word '*Phra*' (monk), the address term about kinship (e.g., *Loong Ho* or Uncle Ho), occupation (e.g., *Khru Kittisuk Yoosuk*) and the social status title (e.g., *Khunying Dr. Mallika Wannakrairot*). The second pertains to translation as seen in the words '*axe-pillow*' and '*long-tail boat*'. The third refers to hybrid constructions of Thai and English words (e.g., *tuk-tuk drivers*) and an English and Thai compound (e.g., *a floating raan ahaani*). Finally, lexical borrowing contains independent words (e.g., *rai*, *farang* and *mae nam*) and lexical borrowing with reduplication – *ubosot* (ordination hall) and *kwan* (spirits of life). Another Thai researcher, Chutisilp (1984), analyzed Thai words in literary and non-literary texts in Thai English by Thai writers and translators. He identified three types of lexical borrowing. First, titles for the Royal family members such as *Chao Fa* (Prince) and *Mom Chao* (the highest lord); second, titles for commoners such as *Khun Ying* (lady) and third, loans of social position such as *Kruu* (a teacher) and *Kamnan* (a chief in a village). In the compilation of the Macquarie dictionary, Butler (1999) collected ThaiE words for a lexical corpus for the *Macquarie Dictionary* and listed words like *minor wife*, *hill tribe*, *farang*, *sanuk*, *wai*, *klong*, *sticky rice* and *tuk tuk*. Bolton (2003) listed words such as *ajarn*, *fighting fish*, *forest monk*, and *minor wife* from the *Grolier International Dictionary*. Bennui (2019: 465) provides six types of lexical borrowing in English tourist magazines in Southern Thailand – loanwords, loan blends, loan shifts, loan creation, pronunciation borrowing and acronyms – which provide specific linguistic features. Loanwords are considered the most popular type. They are divided according to functional domains such as physical words (toponyms), for example, names of islands like Koh Hey (Coral Island), food and drinks, e.g., *tod man pla* (spicy fish cake) and cultural festivals, e.g., *Songkran* (water festival) (water festival).

Concluding statements

This chapter has shown the interplay of historical, sociocultural and linguistic factors impacting on language contact in SEA. As a region that has a very rich and diverse past and which was part of various empires, trading networks and multicultural settings, English came into contact with a wide range of languages in different locations. We show how, through contact, words are borrowed and new lexis created in and across varieties of English with linguistic influences that have come from Europe, China, India and the Middle East. Language contact of English with other languages has been most intensive in the maritime Anglophone region (excluding Myanmar), where English was embedded reasonably deeply and was acquired and used outside education. It is here that it has developed dynamically (*see* Schneider 2007). New varieties of English emerged and developed into established varieties. In the postcolonial period, English contact-induced varieties have become especially vibrant as can be seen in illustrations in Chapters Four and Five. Within national varieties, more recently, loans from local languages are the most commonly found and can be considered the most obvious contact phenomena producing a wide range of outcomes. In northern SEA (e.g., Myanmar and Laos), English was implanted more recently and contact was less focused on national languages in more fluid languages habitats. Given that it is mainly learnt in educational contexts, an exo-normative orientation prevails and the functions of English are mainly those typical of a foreign language. We have also drawn on our own research on distant contact with Arabic as a language of religion.

6 English in specific domains

Following on from the two preceding chapters, this one will turn to English in a selection of domains, one being the legal domain, in particular, law courts – common law and Syariah – and arbitration, and another, the domain of advertising. It will thus open up a textual dimension on English in Southeast Asia (SEA) but also illustrate very precisely the exo- and endo- normative orientation of English and its hybrid character. Research on language in the legal domain in SEA has been quite scarce with some research mainly in Malaysia and, to some extent, the Philippines. In the advertising domain, most research is found in Malaysia, Thailand and the Philippines.

English in the legal domain

We begin with English in the legal domain and start with some background to the legal systems in the region. The ten ASEAN countries have had different colonial legacies and this can be seen in the legal systems established in each country. The Malaysian legal system is a complex product of its history, particularly as a British colony. It is a predominantly common law country, with a separate Islamic law system. In this multiethnic country with a Muslim majority population, Muslims are subject to Islamic Syariah Law. Islamic laws are mostly civil laws which deal with personal laws and family law. Malaysia's legal system can be said to be multijural (more than two legal systems associated with multiple languages) with three distinct legal traditions. The most dominant legal system is based on adversarial common law – common law implanted by the British is the largest and most extensive. The other legal system is Syariah law that deals with family matters such as inheritance, divorce and religious offences for Muslims. A less known but older system is the Adat, the customary law of the Malays and indigenous communities, similar to what is found in Indonesia. Although not much in use in West Malaysia, it is still adopted in East Malaysia when cases involve forest communities. It lacks a written tradition, normally practiced in Malay and/or other Austronesian languages, and is recognized by national and state legislation (Azirah and Powell 2011; Powell 2020).

Similar to Malaysia, Singapore, as a former colony of Britain, also practises common law. Muslim Law is also for personal legal matters, such as family law

and inheritance administered by the Syariah Court. Brunei shares similar features in their legal system. Brunei's legal system is based on British common law, with a parallel Syariah law system for Muslims, which supersedes the common law system in matters pertaining to family and property law. Brunei became the first Southeast Asian country to adopt strict Syariah criminal law that applies to both Muslims and non-Muslims in 2014. Different from its neighbours, the Sultan in Brunei possesses wide legislative powers and may pass any legislation he deems expedient by Emergency Order. Due to its colonial past, Myanmar has a predominantly common law legal system. The principles of the English common law were adopted in the late 19th and early 20th centuries when Myanmar (then known as Burma) was part of the British Empire.

We move on to countries with a different colonial history. The Philippine has a legal system which is a mixture of customary usage, Roman (civil law) and Anglo-American (common law) systems, and Islamic law. This can be explained by the immigration of Muslim Malays in the 14th century and the subsequent colonization of the islands by Spain and the United States. Indonesia, which was under the Dutch for 350 years, has a civil law system based on the Roman-Dutch model. Dutch colonial law is reflected in the Indonesian Civil Code, Indonesian Commercial Code and Indonesian Criminal Code. Some changes took place after independence in 1945. The modern Indonesian law was established and this comprised modifications to existing Dutch legal principles and drawing from customary law (*adat*) that existed before Dutch colonization, as well as Islamic law, which applies to Muslims only.

Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos have a complex history that can be seen in their legal systems largely influenced by the French. Since 1975, Vietnam has had a single, unified legal system, which has been influenced by both eastern and western legal traditions, the French civil law system and Soviet communist legal ideology. The Cambodian legal system is based largely on the French civil system. However, the legal system has experienced transitions from when under the Khmer Rouge, the entire Cambodian legal system was destroyed between 1975 and 1979. After the invasion of Cambodia by Vietnam in 1979, the Cambodian legal framework was influenced by the Vietnamese system. Following that, while the country was under the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) from 1991 to 1993, a number of laws were enacted. In addition, due to foreign legal assistance to legal and judicial reform in the country, the Cambodian system also incorporated some common law features. The current legal system is therefore a hybrid system consisting of all these influences.

Laos too inherited a civil law-based legal system from the French colonial administrators which took Lao customary law into account. Lao law has remained undeveloped until the early 1990s and the laws are being revised using the approach of French civil law as well as other foreign models. Customary law which is widely practiced by ethnic Laotian peoples is not formally recognized as part of state law (Southeast Asian Legal Research Guide: Regional & Comparative Resources, accessed <https://unimelb.libguides.com/c.php?g=402982&p=4635158>, accessed 1 May 2020).

Quite clearly, these different legal systems call for different forms of English and sometimes different languages. We will focus especially on two legal systems in Malaysia and language use in the courts in the Philippines. But the overall situation would be much more complex.

In Malaysia, on independence in 1957, Article 152 declared that Malay was the national language but a clause was inserted to allow English to be used for legal and administrative affairs for a transitional period. This was followed by a succession of language planning measures, such as the creation of Malay legal lexis, to expand the role of Malay in the legal domain. In 1967, an amendment was made to the constitution. Malay became the official language (in East Malaysia in 1967) and was permitted to be used in court without translation. In 1980, judges, magistrates and court administrators were given a directive to use Malay, which was also made the language for documentary submissions. However, English was still allowed in the ‘interests of justice’ and so it continues to be used in the courts, especially in the High Court, Court of Appeal and Federal Court (Powell 2008; Azirah and Powell 2011; Powell and Azirah 2011). There is also the issue of the inadequacy of Malay for legal arguments and a lack of legal lexis. These allowances were also made because many judges and lawyers had been trained in the United Kingdom and were therefore more adept at conducting trials in English rather than in Malay. It was much later, in 1982, that the Lower Courts began conducting trials in Malay and interpreters had to be used when English was not understood (Powell 2008: 21). However, lawyers can seek permission from the court to conduct the examination in English. The Syariah courts operate mainly in Malay with Arabic used especially at the beginning of the proceedings. Its jurisdiction is considered somewhat limited still; however, there have been calls to widen its scope (Azirah and Norizah 2011; Powell 2020).

It took more than two decades of efforts to switch to Malay in courts in Malaysia. Bilingualism is a feature of the legal system with Malay and English often used in the common law courts and Malay and Arabic, and sometimes English, used in the Syariah courts. These exist in the context of multilingualism where Chinese dialects, Indian languages and East Malaysian languages are also used. A transformation of language use in courts has taken place in Malaysia – from being initially dominated by English with judges and lawyers trained overseas, usually in Great Britain, the legal profession has become mainly Malay dominated or bilingual, with Malay as the official language of the courts.

Noraini Ibrahim (2007) examined language choice in court in Malaysia. She observed that the formalities of the legal process, like the calling out of the cases, are conducted in Malay while English was used by most of the witnesses in the case studied. Malay as the official language of the court was used, for example, when the court policeman and bailiff announced the beginning and ending of each session and when the interpreter called out cases to be heard for the day. She also noted the connection of choice of language with socioeconomic standing and showed that Malay was used by witnesses from the civil service who did not hold senior positions, e.g., lower-ranking police officers. The government witnesses of higher standing, on the other hand, gave evidence in English. In a particular

case she observed, the judge consented to all the witnesses to give evidence in the language that they were most competent in.

Other studies (e.g., Ahmad Mohd Yusof et al. 1993; Nik Safiah Karim and Faiza Tamby Chik 1994) have highlighted the constraints of implementing Malay in the courts. A relatively old study by Mead (1988) reported on the University of Malaya's *Spoken English Project* or *UMSEP* using authentic data from magistrates' courts and Baskaran (1995) analyzed data from court cases to examine 'unwritten rules which are totally context-dependent and case-oriented' (1995: 168).

Some research has been carried out on another branch of law, alternative dispute resolution (ADR), an area where there are no hard and fast rules. The Malaysian Arbitration Act of 2005 states that parties can choose the language of the arbitration. In a multilingual setting, if the parties disagree over the language to be used, the tribunal makes the decision. However, data from interviews with arbitrators and limited observation of arbitration proceedings suggest that there is a fairly strong expectation that parties will mostly use English and that this will be the language of documentary submissions. The majority of arbitrations in Malaysia cover commercial matters, and the fact that commercial documents tend to be in English contributes to an expectation of English in oral proceedings. Furthermore, since many arbitrators are ex-judges and lawyers who obtained their tertiary education and training overseas, mainly in the UK, English tends to be the language that they use at work. English is also often chosen when counsels, claimants, respondents and witnesses are from varied ethnic and language backgrounds. In the case of ADR, arbitration and mediation are promoted for faster and friendlier ways of resolving disputes. English is generally used in these cases, often with other languages interchangeably, given the more flexible rules compared to courtrooms.

We now look at interactions in the different courts and arbitration proceedings to see how languages are used in this domain when Malay is the official language policy. We focus mainly on code-switching and the reasons for the choice of language. Powell (2008) identified a large set of factors that may influence code-choice. This would include the outlook of the judge with those coming from government service more likely to favour Malay. This would also include the social background of witnesses, for example, expert witnesses and commercial litigants tend to give their evidence in English. In addition, the language of the documents referred to, which although must be submitted in Malay, in practice English versions are often relied on. The study showed that there is a marked tendency for the use of more Malay in criminal cases and in the lower court cases and for more English in civil cases and in the higher courts. This suggests a pragmatic application of the language policy and depends on the language that the participants are likely to be more comfortable in.

David's (2003) and Powell's and Azirah's (2011) studies revealed that habitual instances of code-switching occurred frequently and that this was not due to limited proficiency. Being bilingual or multilingual, Malaysians tend to code-switch in discourse and this is also seen in such a formal setting. At times, the

dominant language in such habitual mixed discourse was English, at other times it was Malay. The example below shows code-switching in which the dominant (or ‘matrix’) language is Malay (a translation into English is in brackets).

Kes merupakan arrest case atau kes saman?
(‘Is this an arrest case or a summons case?’)

(David 2003: 9)

Code-switching also occurs due to the unavailability of lexical items in a language. In courtrooms, exact terminology is important where words play a vital role and make a major impact on sentences such as life and death and freedom or imprisonment. The main forms of code-switching identified in Malaysian courtrooms (e.g., David 2003; Powell 2008; Powell and Azirah 2011), are lexical code-mixing (typically, the insertion of single words or phrases from one language into a matrix of the other); intra- and inter-sentential code-switching (language alternation between clauses); code-shifting (alternation when addressing different interlocutors) and non-accommodating alternation (where interlocutors speak to each other in their respective preferred languages without the need of an interpreter to understand each other). According to Powell (2012), bilingualism or even multilingualism is so ingrained that language alternation occurs in courtroom discourse regularly and spontaneously. This can be seen in the following examples:

Counsel: Bila? (When?) Same day as you told Razak?

Witness: Ya. Hari yang sama. (Yes, the same day.)

(Powell 2012: 250)

Judges who have the most authority and freedom in courtrooms appear to have the greatest tendency to switch between more and less formal Malay and English. In the example below taken from Powell (2008), a judge switches from formal British English to a very casual style to berate a lawyer:

Counsel: It is inadmissible in law because he did not comply with the Witness Act, Yang Arif.

Judge: Oh don’t be so daft!

(Powell 2008)

In this example, defence counsel uses local English with a court official and then almost pompously acrolectal English with the judge, who responds informally in local English:

Counsel (to clerk): This one lah. [Gives bundle to clerk]

Counsel (to J): I humbly request for a short break, Yang Arif.

Judge: Short one is it, ah?

(Powell 2008)

Powell (2008, 2020) stipulates that switching between Malay and English may also mark an indication of greater or lesser formality and that a switch may

indicate a change of style. Judges can speak informally to lawyers as seen above and may take cues from preceding discourse as to the possibilities for switching between Malay and English. Although Malay is the national language, it appears that, in spite of the national language policy, some of the judges and lawyers tend to use English with each other, even in the formal setting of the law court. The mix of Malay and English is rampant with lawyers generally using Malay-dominant utterances with witnesses and switches to English with other interlocutors. For instance, in the example below, ‘breath analyser’ is in English rather than the matrix language, Malay; ‘hands-free set’ (referring to mobile phones) and ‘scaffolding’ are also English lexical items used in Malay dominant discourse. David (2003: 9–14) provides the following examples:

Code-switch for technical items:

Ujian alkohol telah dijalankan iaitu *breath analyser test*
 (‘The alcohol test was conducted, i.e. breath analyser test’)
 Saya ada *hands free set*, sudah rosak
 (‘I have a hands free set, it is spoilt’)
 OKT didapati mencuri *scaffolding* yang dimiliki oleh Yong.
 (‘OKT was found stealing the scaffolding which belonged to Yong’)

Culturally alien concepts may also result in code-mixing. In the following example, the lexical item ‘social drinker’ is in English in a Malay dominant utterance. This is because drinking alcohol is prohibited in Islam and the Malay-Muslim world does not contain a lexical item that is equivalent in meaning.

Example: Code-switch for culturally alien terms:

Saya difahamkan bahawa OKS jarang minum, hanya seorang *social drinker*
 (‘I understand that OKS seldom drinks, he is only a social drinker’)

The data revealed that some code-switches were initiated not only because a term was culturally alien but it could also be due to limited proficiency. To get a specific meaning across, the speaker switches to another language. For instance, ‘oblige a superior’ in Malay is apparently beyond the ability of the speaker in the example below, and he switches from his Malay dominant discourse to English to get this meaning across. Code-switching then is a resource that these professionals resort to in order to get their meaning across and achieve their communicative and professional goals.

Example:

Code-switch due to limited proficiency:
 dan telah dipaksa minum, maka untuk *oblige superior*, OKS minum.
 (‘and forced to drink in order to oblige superior, OKS drank’)

In the above example, the code-shift to English by the lawyer is triggered by a directive from the judge to repeat a question. The lawyer had originally asked the

witness this question in Malay, but it had apparently not been understood by the witness. David (2003) postulates that the lawyer could have shifted to English for two reasons: he could have faced difficulty in expressing the concept/question in Malay, not having sufficient linguistic resources to rephrase what he had earlier said in Malay, or he may have realized that the judge, and perhaps even the witness, did not understand the question when it was asked in Malay.

David (2003) states that a shift to another language could be for reasons other than a need to accommodate or because of limited proficiency. Code-switches can arise due to the need to emphasize a crucial point. The next example shows the defending lawyer using dominant Malay in his code-switch but shifting to English to emphasize to the judge an important point, i.e., that the accused had not committed any crime for ten years.

Example:

Code-switch for emphasis:

Sebelum ini OKT pernah ditangkap pada tahun 1975 dan 1986. *There has been a 10 year gap since the last offence.* Semenjak itu Oktober telah berumah tangga mempunyai kerja tetap dan insaf.

(‘Before this OKT was caught in 1975 and 1986... Since October he has been married and has had a steady job’.)

Let us now turn to a less-researched area, language use in arbitration. Arbitration is supposed to be more informal and casual than courtroom proceedings. Studies by, for e.g., Azirah and Powell (2009a, 2009b, 2011), however, show samples of discourse taken from arbitration that suggest that language use may not be all that different from that in courtrooms. Code-switching between English and Malay is found in arbitral proceedings, in instances such as in the discourse of counsel and witnesses when all of them are Malaysians:

Counsel: Any other *kesilapan* (mistakes) in this document?

Witness: *Mungkin takda* (maybe not). *Cuma di peringkat* (just at the level of) supervision *sahaja* (only).

In addition to lexical code-mixing, code-switching from clause to clause also seems to be common. Its functions are often parallel to those that have been found in the courtroom, such as reiteration of questions:

How do you confirm? Who made the payment? *Siapa yang bayar?* (Azirah and Powell 2009a, 2009b).

Counsel: Is any money owing to Universiti X.

Witness: *Tak ingat.*

(I don’t remember.)

Counsel: *Ada atau tidak?*

(Is there or is there not.)

Witness: *Ada lagi.*

(There is.)

Counsel: I put it to you that you have not completed this project.

Witness: *Cuma satu tak siap.*

(Only one is not ready.)

Counsel: I put it to you all the projects you have failed to carry out successfully.

Witness: *Tak pernah.*

(Never.)

(Azirah and Powell 2009a, 2009b).

As can be seen in the above examples, there are a number of instances when the lawyer uses English and the witness replies in Malay. While arbitral advocates do seem prepared to help language-disadvantaged witnesses rather than exploit them, the fact is that if such a witness were to appear in court, an interpreter would need to be used – or proceedings suspended until one could be found. This would then delay proceedings if the parties went to court instead of arbitration.

We now turn to the *Syariah* court, which deals with both civil and criminal matters for Muslims in the country. Civil matters include family law and matters pertaining to inheritance and property. Cases dealing with marriage, divorce and maintenance as well as the custody and support of children come under this category. In the criminal category, the *Syariah* court deals with sexual offences, failure to observe the fast during the month of *Ramadhan* and other matters pertaining to religion. Matters that fall in the latter, however, sometimes fall under the national common law courts. Compared to the national courts, the *kadi* ‘Muslim Judge’ in the *Syariah* court has a limited range of punishments they can impose.

As can be seen in the data analyzed, habitual instances of code-switching occur frequently in the *Syariah* court. Although this generally reflects the multilingual background of the speakers, when this takes place in the courtroom, there may be specific reasons for doing so. As the legal system for the Malays, Malay is the language of the *Syariah* court. Generally, the main language used by all parties is Malay but there are many instances of the use of Arabic for certain terms and English is quite often found too. The Arabic phrase meaning ‘May peace be upon you’ is typically used before commencing an activity and the judge utters this in his opening before he questions the plaintiff. There are instances of code-mixing used, as in:

‘*Ada*, but I *tak* remember *berapa jumlahnya*. I *tak* sure’. (‘Have, but I don’t remember the total amount. I’m not sure.’)

The use of English and Latin words is used for technical legal items as in *ex parte*, *affidavit* and *interim*. These words are used to compensate for the lack of

equivalent words in Malay, or else because the Malay legal words are unfamiliar to many. On the other hand, Arabic words such as *talaq* are used for religious and culturally specific meanings.

We now turn to another country which has carried out initiatives to move away from English in the courtrooms, Philippines. English has been the major language in the courts although it is not the national language. This is in spite of Tagalog-based Filipino being the language that is understood by the vast majority of the population (Martin 2012: 2; Powell 2020). According to Martin (2012: 2), Tagalog-based Filipino is reportedly understood by 85% in the Philippines, yet it is used only sporadically in the lower courts. Under constitutional Article 14 (s.7), Filipino is the national language. English is an official language ‘until otherwise provided by law’ and monopolizes the legal domain (Martin 2012: 2). Martin (2012) mentions the case of Bulacan where there was an attempt to bring in the use of the national language in court. Tagalog was brought in and used with defendants who were not fluent in English and key legislation was in Filipino. However, this attempt was not successful as much of the materials relied on were in English and there was resistance from judges and administrators as well as the fact that the legal corpus remains overwhelmingly in English. Even Syariah, which is particularly important in the south of the country, has been encoded in English (Powell 2020).

Martin (2012) provides a Public Opinion Survey on the Courts (POSC) held in 2003 that showed that 46% of the respondents reported their difficulties in understanding English during legal proceedings, while 40% claimed that even when judges and lawyers use the respondents’ language, they still could not understand what these judges and lawyers say in court. The language policy of the Philippine judiciary, which is determined by what the 1987 Constitution prescribes, allows for two languages, English and Filipino. However, in practice, it is English that clearly dominates the system. English is in fact the default language of Philippine court proceedings. Martin interviewed 15 Visayas-based lawyers and 10 did not believe that their native languages would thrive in the legal system. Some of the reasons included:

‘Filipino language may be okay but local dialects can never be used as rulings of the court are subject to appeal and there is no assurance that the appellate court will understand the local dialect’.

‘It (using Philippine languages) is a welcome proposal but it needs extensive study and preparation considering that there are legal terminologies which have no equivalent in Tagalog words and vice-versa’.

‘(Using Philippine languages is) [i]nteresting but quite difficult since the language used in law schools is English. The textbooks are also in English’.

‘Such prospect (of using Philippine languages) is greatly debilitated by the fact that most judges are assigned outside their hometown or province, and their places of assignment most often are of a different dialect. Moreover, lawyers are also handling cases in several provinces with varying dialects’.

‘It (using Philippine languages) will create confusion because our laws and jurisprudence are all written in English’.

‘It would be right to use Filipino. However, if any other dialect or language would be used, it would be very difficult for most lawyers’.

‘It (using Philippine languages) is not feasible because of our diverse languages. It would entail all lawyers to learn all existing languages and would necessitate translations of pleadings and court orders or resolutions to one common language which is not beneficial to both the court and its clientele’.

‘I have no problem with that (using Philippine languages). In fact, doing so would put on record the true meaning of the Filipino (or other Philippine language) term being used. However, there is a need to train the court stenographers to write Filipino or other Philippine language in “shorthand”’.

We have covered language use in only two countries in SEA as much of the research in the legal domain has been on these two countries. We showed the use of other languages apart from the official languages of the courts and explain reasons for their use. We also highlight issues of language disadvantage that can arise.

The commercial advertising domain

Now we move on to an informal domain, that of advertising, to see how English is used in a few selected countries in ASEAN. Studies have been carried out on radio and print advertisements where an interesting mix of English with other languages can be seen. The use of English in this domain is generally seen to be aimed at influencing and changing the behaviour of the target group of potential customers (Azirah 2007). In the Malaysian radio advertisements analyzed, for e.g., both standard MaE (SME) and colloquial MaE (CME) are routinely employed in many radio advertisements in Malaysia. A few examples from Malaysia are given here:

Automax, Mix.fm

Abah (father): Listen, *abah*’s got a save-petrol plan for our *balik kampung* trip.

First, you can only take one small bag each.

Wife: That’s impossible.

Abah: Well, less weight saves petrol. Next, air-con will be off.

Son: *Abah*, I’ll sweat to death.

Abah: No air-cond saves more petrol.

Announcer: Don’t worry. Now with Automax Nano Tech, you can save on petrol and enjoy your journey home. Automax saves you up to 28% and boosts engine power up to 20%. Automax Nano Tech is made in the USA. Available at Cosway and 7–11. Enjoy a special discount today.

Tesco Extra, Mix.fm, 2008

Man of Chinese ethnicity (C): Egg, *ah* ... everything extra *lah*.

Man of Indian ethnicity (I): Eh, extra this, extra that! Wait for Tesco Extra to open first *lah dey*!

C: Huh? When?

Announcer: Tesco Extra Seberang Jaya Prai is opening soon. Over 200 food varieties to tantalise your taste buds, and more than 40 shops and kiosks for your extra shopping convenience. Everything is extra. Tesco Extra Seberang Jaya for you and your family.

Support Local Tourism PSA, Mix. Fm

Man 1: Eh, brother! I just got back from my holiday lah. We went to Rome, Milan (laughs).

Man 2: Oh, really, ah? I just got back from my holiday too. I went to *Taman Negara* with my wife. We saw so many types of animals.

Man 1: Animals? I'm going to South Africa and *they got* more animals there (laughs).

Man 2: Last year, I went to *Pulau Redang*. It's beautiful.

Man 1: Eh, eh, is that like in somewhere in Sabah or?

Man 2: No, no, it's off in Terengganu lah, dude.

Man 1: Eh, if I want an island, I'm going to Maldives, y'all.

Man 2: Before you get to know other people's countries, get to know your own first.

Man 1: Mix FM in support of seeing all of beautiful Malaysia.

Man 2: *Malaysia boleh!*

The radio advertisements above show the interplay between colloquial MalE and standard MalE. There is 'direct' address when the message of the advertiser is given directly to the consumer, usually by the commentator, and there is 'indirect' address when the message is presented in the form of a dialogue. The 'direct' address is usually in Standard English and the indirect address in colloquial English. The advertisements indicate that localized English is used, indicating a sense of pride and affinity with this variety of English. There is often an exaggeration of the Malaysian accent to assert ethnic identity and membership in a local speech community. Interplay between standard and colloquial English can be observed in the skilful switching between the two as well as ethnically marked pronunciation to portray the stereotypical characteristics of the three main ethnic groups, Malays, Chinese and Indians, as a form of inclusiveness.

Influence of substrate languages can be seen and heard in the lexical borrowings, simplified syntax and distinctive phonology, often done in an exaggerated manner, in the radio advertisements, sometimes to inject humour and to identify the speaker as being from a particular ethnic group. Features of MalE are marked in the radio advertisements. For example, in general, there is a lack of distinction between short and long vowels in colloquial speech, and there is little vowel reduction. Consonant cluster reduction is also common and there is a tendency to devoice fricatives in the final position. The dental fricatives are often realized as dentals and word final plosives are often unreleased or glottalized when preceded by a vowel. There are a number of lexical borrowings in the radio ads, for

example, term of address: *abah* and name of places (*Pulau Redang*). Grammar simplification can be observed in the use of reduction, omission and restructuring, as shown in the following examples:

everything extra *lah*.

I'm going to South Africa and they *got* more animals there.

Discourse particles from the three main different languages in the country, Malay,

Chinese and Tamil, are generously employed by the speakers in the radio ads:

Egg, *ah* ... everything extra *lah*.

Eh, extra this, extra that! Wait for Tesco Extra to open first day *lah dey!*

Oh really *ah?*

No, no, it's off in Terengganu *lah* dude.

Particles in MalE, discussed in Chapter Four, perform several functions and have intonational variation. They can be used to affirm a statement, to soften a remark, to emphasize what is said, and when placed at the end, they can form a question. *La* is often used to convey emotive or affective attitudes of the speaker. It can be used as a softener and even to change a command to a request. *Lah* can also place emphasis on the statement in which it is found or on the word that comes before the particle. For example, *lah* is used to place emphasis on the word 'extra'. *Eh* is a form of address used among friends and often to get someone's attention. *Ah* is often used with questions when there is no subject inversion.

In Malaysian print advertisements, English is common either on its own or together with another language or languages. Similar uses of languages can be found in advertisements in the Philippines. Klimenko (2017) found that in 127 advertisements that he examined, only two contained no English words. He provided examples of advertisements that used both English and Tagalog.

Puttanesca. Pesto Chicken Penne. Seafood Supremo. Love Pasta? New!

Pasta Perfetto. Pizza Hut.

Sa kalye. Sa school. Sa love life. Ah, sa love life. When you're going get stuffed, Mag-coke lang, siyemre. Drink Coke and wear smile everyday! Look under the crown, and win Coke smile shirts from Bench and Coke products instantly. Millions to be got away.

Among the rest of the 84 commercials, in ten (7%), the presence of Tagalog is minor (only one or separate phrases or words are in Tagalog, uttered by only one or more characters, but not in the voiceover, slogan, etc.). The following commercials of a bank and a brand of shampoo are examples of this kind of advertising:

(TV): Man: Opportunities don't wait. *Kaya ako*, BPI. From BPI to BPI ang tseke, cleared agad. No more three-day wait.

Female Voice Over: Your needs are changing, so we're changing the rules of banking.

Text: More and more partner with BPI. Jun P. Santillana Entrepreneur.

Natividad N. Alejo BPI Consumer Banking Head.

Text: Expect more. We'll take you farther.

(TV) Man1: We have tested dandruff sufferers who had taken the Clear Dandruff blacklight challenge. What shampoo do you use?

Woman: *Syempre*, I use.

Man2: *Nakasanayan ko na*.

Man3: *Ako*, I switched to Clear.

Man1: Let's test who is really dandruff free with the blacklight.

Woman: Oh, no!

Man2: *Oo nga*, no?

Man3: Dandruff? Wala!

Man1: With Clear, you get no dandruff. Up to three times more effective against dandruff. Can your shampoo do this? Take the Clear black light challenge. Can your shampoo do this? Take the Clear black light.

The language of the rest of the 75 advertisements is Taglish, with 47 advertisements (37%) representing heavy code-switching and 28 advertisements (22%) representing mainly Tagalog with a minor presence of English (usually, separate words or a phrase pronounced by one character in the main body of an advertisement, product or company name, or slogans).

Turning to Thailand where English has been recognized as an important language of trade from the 19th century, a study by Masavisut et al. (1987: 203) showed the prevalence of English in the media and in advertising. They illustrated that Thais use English to advertise items to Thai consumers with reasons such as 'the cultural power that English words carry with them' and that 'English brand names give these products credibility and imply superior standards of production'. English generic names are given to personal care products such as *shampoo*, *soft soap* and *hair spray*. English words are also commonly used for office appliances such as *data bank*, *Xerox* and *lift*. The writers claimed that English is used for the persuasive effect it has on the audience as well as its ability to increase credibility and that products featured get a 'high tech sound'. The increased effectiveness of the advertisements which include English in them can be said, therefore, to result from an attitude in the minds of Thai consumers that associates English with high tech or modern concepts and products. In the advertisements described in Masavisut et al.'s study, English is sometimes transliterated into Thai script while at other times the Roman alphabet is used. It would appear that the appearance of English on a label is a strong enough appeal to this attitude in the consumer to influence a decision to buy, whether the language is understood or not.

A study carried out a few years later by Kapper (1992) looked at English loan words in Thai print media to show that although English was not imposed on Thailand unlike its neighbours, English words still got imported into Thai and subsequently into Thai media. Kapper found that the domain of business and advertising showed the largest concentration of English items. Heavy borrowing was found in advertising of consumer goods and the use of business jargon.

Bennui (2019) found six types of Thai lexical borrowing in the magazines he analyzed – loanwords, loan blends, loan shifts, loan creation, pronunciation borrowing and acronyms. The most common domain belongs to toponyms as well as food and drinks. He gives the following examples:

- ... spring rolls, chicken satay, *pad thai* and many more recipes (KM, June 2016, p. 16).
- ... fried shrimp with spicy sauce, *somtam* (papaya salad) (PM, February–April, p. 52).

And so it's come about that, in just about every 'round island' organized tour, the *Hin Ta* (grandfather rock) and *Hin Yai* (grandmother rock) rocks have been included (SM, March–April 2017, p. 115).

- ... from where you can catch a *longtail boat* directly to Koh Jum (KM, April–May 2016, p. 71)

In a study of advertisements in Skytrains in Bangkok, Sutthinaraphan (2016) discussed the bilingual strategies found in these advertisements. Her results revealed that the majority of the signs (65%) are in bilingual Thai and English by script. She found that, in general, Thai is used for informational purposes, while English is used to express a sense of luxury, technological advancement and internationalism. Like in advertisements in other countries, code-mixing is common with a combination of English and Thai scripts, lexicon, syntax and phonology. She refers to advertisements in Cambodia by Kasanga (2012) who collected data from storefronts and billboards. Khmer, the official language, appeared to be the most prominent language; however, English ranks second in the signs examined. Similarly, Syed Abdul Manan, David, Dumanig and Naqeebullah (2015) studied the linguistic landscape of Kuala Lumpur by collecting government and private signs. They showed that although Malay is, according to law, the language for the signs, English is widely used to convey modernization and success, amongst others. In a country, which is multilingual and multicultural, Chinese and Indian languages are also found to express ethnolinguistic identities.

Finally, a study of advertisements in Indonesia by Marzona (2017) showed that the advertisements, like in the other SEA countries mentioned above, often include English words. In her study, nouns are often in English while the rest of the advertisements are in Indonesian Malay. She provides the following examples:

Dapetin *gadget* seru buat gebet!
(Conello walls)

Jadilah tamu istimewa GADIS selama tiga hari! Kamu bisa room- in dirumah GADIS dan ikutan serunya bekerja sebagai jurnalis dan *fashion stylist*. (GADIS)

Musik *Hip-Hop* muncul tahun 70- an di Bronx, New York City, merupakan gabungan rap dengan *breakbeats* yang biasa dimainkan di pesta- pesta antar blok di

daerah Bronx. *Everything bling-bling* yang dipadukan dengan *sportylook* adalah key-element untuk bergaya hip-hop. Gold mini drapery dress ditumpuk dengan rok lipat ala *cherrleader plus aksesoris* serba emas, cukup mewakili gaya hidup *Hip Hoppers*. (*Mode: to the BEAT y'all!*)

Studies on advertisements in SEA seem to indicate that English plays an important role in both print and oral media. The association of English with modernity, prestige and quality is utilized by advertisers in influencing consumers in the region. The values ascribed to English to support its retention in SEA countries clearly carries over into a wide range of the public domain. If English can be said to be used pragmatically in law courts – richer technical vocabulary, location of legal training, level of competence – its use in commercial advertising is emotive and persuasive.

7 English as a lingua franca in ASEAN

We surveyed the history of English in Southeast Asia (SEA) with a focus on former Anglophone colonies in Chapter Three. Chapters Four to Six deepened our understanding of English in the region. By looking at its texture in selected countries, language contact, and by focusing on its manifestations in some domains where it is strong in Chapters Four to Six, we noticed two trends, both away from native speaker norms. The one which is discussed widely is that of developing stable national varieties, especially in former Anglophone colonies. The other is the rise of common features and of the spread of some others across the region that points to the possibility of a consensual variety of English. If that were to spread across SEA and ASEAN, a regional lingua franca might develop akin to similar developments in the European Union (Seidlhofer et al. 2006). Of course, the social correlates of the cline of variation from acro- to the mesolect and on to the basilect in national varieties would differ somewhat between them but the principle would be similar: the higher one's education, social status and international connectedness, the more likely one would be a speaker of the acrolect. Such speakers could variably shift downward, and as they do, they would increase the local input from their national habitats, which would work against a common lingua franca. Put differently, the common lingua franca would be more pronounced at the level of the acrolect and more national at the basilect. All SEA countries are (variably) exo-normative and are offering International Standard English as their target in education but learners in the non-Anglophone countries would acquire a more pronounced learner variety, heavily mixed with the input of local languages, as we have seen in Chapter Three (*see also* Percillier 2016).

It is a logical step forward now to examine the roles of English in ASEAN and to ask whether English, when it is spoken by people from different ASEAN countries when they meet, is just a collection of different (national) varieties they use at home or whether it possesses characteristics that make the term *ASEAN English* a useful or even necessary one. As there is a push, for example, through ASEAN meetings, towards using a form of English that is intelligible across ASEAN societies and has the range of styles necessary, this chapter also looks at the implications for English language education in Southeast Asia, the changing status of English and whether there is the need to focus on cultural identity rather than to follow a traditional native English, norm-bound approach.

The communicative space

Apart from the binary division into former Anglophone and non-Anglophone colonies (and Thailand), the ASEAN countries can be divided into three groups, i.e., lower income, low-middle income, middle income and high income, which correlate with different stages of development in higher education. In the lower-income category consisting of Cambodia, Lao PDR and Myanmar, there are high enrolment demands, threats to education quality, less access to equity and a lack of human resources and financial support. In the low-middle-income category, Vietnam, there are high demands on qualified faculty and staff, more opportunity for private higher education institutions and more emphasis on the teaching for skill improvement. In the middle-income group, which consists of Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines and Thailand, there are high enrolment demands, emphasis on education quality, less public expenditure by shifting costs on to students, emphasis on research-oriented policy and controlled overseas branch campuses. Finally, in the high-income category, Brunei and Singapore, there are increased public expenditure, more international academic cooperation and an emphasis on cutting-edge research, development and innovation. An emphasis on excellence, international profile, partnerships and hosting overseas branch campuses (campuses like Yale University in Singapore) complement these activities (Gajaseneni 2016).

As has been stated in earlier chapters, English was unanimously sanctioned by the signing of the ASEAN Charter in 2009. Its Article 34 states that ‘the working language of ASEAN shall be English’, a decision with a mixed blessing. True, it has facilitated the work of Southeast Asian government agencies and of related bodies, that of the United Nations and affiliated institutions, the World Bank, International Labour Organisation, etc., which had begun to operate alongside national governments. They all requested and offered investment in English, which had become the global language of many public domains and of academia by then (Azirah and Leitner 2014). This opened up an increasing number of career prospects for young and middle-aged people – provided they had a sufficient command of English. In a geo-political region that has been integrating, diverse countries united in their objective to play a global role on their own or as ASEAN members, English was bound to be used in multiple functions and even in intra-regional communication. Without addressing specifically that function, Bolton (2008: 3) asserts that

across Asia, the numbers of people having at least a functional command of the language have grown exponentially over the last four decades, and current changes in the sociolinguistic realities of the region are often so rapid that it is difficult for academic commentators to keep pace.

The pro-English decision has also created problems. Southeast Asian languages, whether national or minority, have been demoted or not given enough attention at the expense of English. Even where national policies have supported a local national language, English has taken away some communicative space.

Arguments for supporting local languages have often been made while English spread from one domain to the next. Chapter Eight elaborates on this matter.

There was one gap in this pro-English debate: the kind of English that had to be supported had not been discussed, neither in public, the media nor in the ministries. Only Singapore officially rejected its colloquial *Singlish* although it is used by nearly all Singaporeans as one of their main means of communication. Of course, where English is a foreign language or where a native International English is the teaching norm, departures are seen merely as mistakes.

The educational domain

Seidlhofer, Breiteneder and Pitzl (2006) discussed how the English language has been making its way into Europe. The essential steps of its modern history in Europe can also be seen in ASEAN: English comes in through its use in official meetings, popular music, culture, sports and the media. International agencies like the World Bank request English-speaking partners in any of their programs. English plays an important role in the education systems and becomes the most important foreign or second language in all ASEAN countries. It is taught as an important skill that has to be mastered for better job prospects. ‘English is [also] now being introduced as a compulsory subject in the primary curriculum in all the 10 countries with the exception of Indonesia’ (Kirkpatrick 2010: 17). In Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar and Vietnam, the so-called CLMV countries, English is given greater priority than ever before as the most important second or foreign language. The medium of instruction in schools has often been switched to English. Schools have sprung up for the teaching of English to all age-groups in these countries. It now seems unavoidable that people have to access and acquire broader knowledge through English. The choice of a local language, as in Malaysia or Indonesia, and its imposition in broad educational contexts, is perceived as leading to the danger that the nation will lag behind through inability to access knowledge and skills (Azirah 2009; Asmah 2012). Many urban middle-class parents send their children to international schools in the country where English is the medium of instruction and often taught by teachers from Britain, Australia or America. Alternatively, they may send them to Anglophone countries for the final years of secondary schooling and for tertiary education. The fact that local languages are bound to be disadvantaged is widely accepted as the price to pay (Azirah 2009; Azirah and Leitner 2016). In countries like Malaysia, Singapore and Philippines, institutionalized second-language varieties (Kachru 1992) are used for these purposes and administration. The spin-offs of higher education, i.e., scientific research, teaching, and publications, typically use English as the language for the exchange and propagation of ideas. Phillipson (2007) has highlighted the ‘symbolic’ power of English that he and other “critical linguists” believe to have supported the globalizing role of English, especially since the rise of the discipline of applied linguistics in the 1920s. That power would have led to such behavioural results in SEA.

As mentioned above, the issue of which variety of English becomes the local ‘standard’ is a matter of institutional expediency (Seidlhofer 2011: 46). With

Expanding Circle countries, however, as observed by Ishikawa (2016), English is generally not used for intra-national communication. This has already been noted by researchers for some time (Bennui and Azirah 2014; Clayton 2008; Julia Eka Rini 2014). The dynamicity of higher education is a major promoter of English as a lingua franca (ELF). English is used in regional and global mobility programs that facilitate inter-institutional exchanges across national boundaries and attract more and more ASEAN students. In the last few decades, regional universities have become a lot more competitive and some of them successfully participate in global rankings. ASEAN's higher education space has seen a lot of encouragement given to mobility and academic integration. To mention a few examples of such initiatives, the ASEAN University Network (AUN) has more than 30 universities participating in student exchanges. The ASEAN International Mobility for Students (AIMS) program has supported hundreds of students from ASEAN countries in experiencing education in another ASEAN country for a semester or two. A European Union initiative, SHARE – Support to Higher Education in the ASEAN Region – began in 2015 and aims to strengthen ASEAN higher education institutions by developing quality assurance systems and enhancing higher education standards to facilitate mobility and credit transfers. The Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organisation (SEAMEO) and the Regional Centre for Higher Education and Development (RIHED) initiatives and programmes are also signs of this development. As in Europe where the Bologna Process has led to the harmonization of university degrees to facilitate student and staff mobility and the transfer of credits over the last three and a half decades, ASEAN is moving into a similar direction with increasing efforts to adopt similar mechanisms and structures. AUN, as mentioned above, has generated opportunities for mobility, encouraging students to spend a period abroad in a university where credit transfer can take place and allowing staff to spend periods of research time and sabbaticals in universities in the region.

Mutual Recognition Arrangements (MRAs) is another important initiative in ASEAN integration in education, business, trade and services. MRAs can facilitate trade in services by mutual recognition of authorization, licensing or certification of professional service suppliers. The goal is to facilitate the flow of foreign professionals, taking into account relevant domestic regulations and market demand conditions. The disciplines involved are accountancy, nursing, medicine, dentistry and tourism, among others. Given the importance of English for economic growth, e.g., AFTA (ASEAN Free Trade Agreement), AEC (ASEAN Economic Community) and MRAs, it has become essential to meet employment expectations for competent workers who can communicate in English in the relevant work domains.

Inter-ASEAN networks play an important role in regional integration. In 2015, when Malaysia was chair of ASEAN, ASEAN meetings on various focus areas took place regularly with all ten member states. Ministries played an active role in region-building. For example, the Cambodia-Laos-Myanmar-Vietnam (CLMV) programme involves universities engaging in higher education aid programmes. In addition, Erasmus+ programmes such as Capacity Building in Higher Education

involving universities from Europe and ASEAN countries working together to build capacity in ASEAN also encourage cross-border mobility and cooperation. These types of government and regional support facilitate collaborations that develop into partnerships in mobility exchanges, joint research and others. The language used in all these activities is usually English and it may be that more established varieties of English such as *MalE* and *SgpE* are transported to other ASEAN countries in these contexts. Some of their characteristics may get adopted and adapted in the new contexts in which they are used. The nature of English across Southeast Asia is highly diverse and variable as described in Chapter Four. However, as there are similarities between Austro-Asiatic and Austronesian languages (*see* Chapter Two), even countries that have no inherited English base (through colonization) have features that resemble those of varieties with an English past due to shared typological features or through the adoption of these features through contact. Speakers in countries like Laos and Cambodia may turn to, or through contact, develop the more stable and developed localized forms of Malaysia, Singapore and the Philippines and use them as easily available role models in the region.

English as a lingua franca

Azirah (2019) summarized the definitions of ELF that have been given from the 1990s to today. English as a lingua franca (ELF) has been defined in various, yet closely related ways. In the 1990s, Firth defined ELF as essentially ‘a “contact language” between persons who share neither a common native tongue nor a common (national) culture, and for whom English is the chosen foreign language of communication’ (1996: 240). A more recent definition refers to ‘a specific communication context’ where ‘English is used as a lingua franca, the common language of choice, among speakers who come from different linguistic-cultural backgrounds’ (Jenkins 2009: 200). Several definitions have been formed over the years, altered and replaced earlier ones. Subsequently, Mauranen (2012: 29) argues that ‘ELF is a site of an unusually complex contact’ and should be termed ‘second-order language contact’, a contact between hybrids. To elaborate further, ‘a large number of languages are in contact with English, and it is these contact varieties (similects) that are, in turn, in contact with each other’. Jenkins’ (2015: 74) later definition brings in the term ‘English as a Multilingua Franca’, referring to ‘multilingual communicative settings in which English is known to everyone present, and is therefore always potentially “in the mix”, regardless of whether or not, and how much, it is actually used’. ELF is not a fixed, all-dominating language but a flexible communicative means used among people from different linguistic-cultural backgrounds and integrated into a larger framework of multilingualism, especially in the current European situation. It can be considered as having both common ground and local variations. ELF speakers reduce the use of local variants and adjust, depending on their competency, to the needs in a given situation. As will be shown in the examples below, they can code-switch with speakers from similar language backgrounds, paraphrase, repeat or avoid

idiomatic local language (Azirah and Leitner 2014; Kirkpatrick 2010, 2014). In this way, language users draw on their multifaceted linguistic repertoire and select the most effective resources for particular purposes.

Ehrenreich (2017) used the term ‘Communities of Practice’ in discussing ELF since such networks and communities emerge to meet practical communicative requirements. To highlight the transience and dynamic nature of these groupings, Pitzl (2018, 2019) puts forward the term, ‘Transient International Groups’, to capture the social dimension of ELF and ‘to offer an alternative perspective that puts a greater emphasis on individual interactions and thus can be applied also to fleeting and on-off situations’ (Pitzl 2019: 6). As in Europe, there has been rising interest in English as a lingua franca (ELF) in ASEAN. Kirkpatrick’s (2010, 2011, 2014) research on ELF in ASEAN can be considered pioneering. It has, mainly through the Asian Corpus of English project, encouraged other researchers to examine ELF communication in various domains. Research on features of ELF in ASEAN, causes of misunderstanding among ELF speakers, communication strategies used by ELF speakers to facilitate understanding as well as regional identity (in this case, ASEAN) fostered through English have all been studied (Kaur 2011, 2012; Azirah, Kaur and Tan 2016; Azirah 2019).

Turning briefly to English language teaching, what kind of English should be taught for the purposes for which it is used in ASEAN? Does it require a native-like competence or can English be taught as a lingua franca? Kirkpatrick (2014), who rejects a native-like approach, argues that language-learning objectives, teacher training and the curriculum will be affected. He argues that English could be presented as an ‘Asian’ lingua franca, a language spoken by multilinguals who need English mainly to talk to other ASEAN speakers. Given such a scenario, what would be needed would not be native speaker targets but English that is used by Asian multilinguals who can communicate successfully in this context. This would impact on curriculum design that does not emphasize native speaker norms. We will show in the next section what this may mean. We will return to this topic in Chapter Nine.

Analysis of ELF

In this section, characteristics of ASEAN English are described. The data come from the Asian Corpus of English (ACE) (<http://corpus.eduhk.hk/ace/index.html>) and consist of naturally occurring spoken interactions in ELF in Asia. Speech events consist of interviews; press conferences; service encounters; seminar discussions; working group discussions; workshop discussions; meetings; panels; question-and-answer sessions; conversations; etc. The examples below are mainly from the higher education setting. A brief remark on coding conventions may be useful at this point. ACE is tagged like the Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English (VOICE) so that S1 refers to speaker 1, capitals inside a word as in toMORrow indicates a stressed syllable, (.) signals a short pause and @ refers to metalinguistic aspects such as laughter. Examples and analyses are given below. In the first example, S1, S2 and S3 are three postgraduate students from

Thailand, Indonesia and Malaysia at a university in Malaysia and here they are having an informal conversation on topics that range from food to appearance and shopping.

In Example 1, all three speakers are postgraduate students at a university in Malaysia.

Example 1

S1 (Thai), S2 (Indonesian) and S3 (Malaysian)

1. S1: what
2. S2: come on let's eat
3. S1: <LNma>makan makan {eat eat}</LNma>
4. S3: so many gossip
5. S1: about what
6. S3: yes i want
7. S2: yeah
8. S3: [S1] why you look so different today
9. S1: why
10. S2: same ()
11. S1: argh same
12. S2: not same without glasses
13. S3: oh without glasses
14. S2: ah yeah yeah
15. S3: you wear glasses you should wear glasses with me you should wear glasses
16. S1: why
17. S3: <coughs> hey you going somewhere sunday
18. S1: sunday oh yes because [first name1] ask me to go to <spel>k l</spel> sentral[Central Railway Station]
19. S3: <spel>k l</spel> sentral to buy what
20. S2: central market
21. S1: yeah central market she want to buy (.) souvenir fo:r and then [first name2] want to follow too @@ h

There is the use of a loan word from Malay in Line 3: *makan makan* ('eat') is used by the Thai speaker who has picked up this commonly used word as the subject of food and eating is commonly found in encounters between people who meet in Malaysia.

There is also plural marking of an uncountable noun in Line 4: 'So many gossip' and the absence or deletion of the copula in Line 8: 'why you look so different today'.

Another feature is the use of a declarative clause for a question and the deletion of a preposition in Line 17: 'hey you going somewhere Sunday'. Note the absence of tense marking in Line 18: Sunday oh yes because [first name1] ask me to go to <spel>k l</spel> sentral and the non-marking of the third-person singular in Line 21: 'she want to buy'.

Such grammatical features do not make communication more difficult.

In Example 2, three of the speakers are from Thailand and one from Myanmar. They are academics at a university in Malaysia and here they are talking about a conference that one of them is planning to attend combined with a discussion on coffee and food.

Example 2

S1, S2 and S3 are Thai, S4 is Burmese

22. S2: one hundred and fifty
23. S1: no *lah* it's
24. S3: @@@
25. S2: because first [first name2] told me that if you want to attend also
26. S3: mhm
27. S2: you don't pre- e:r you don't present any paper right
28. S3: mhm
29. S2: like him just attend just pay for registration<@>*lah*</@>
30. S1: are you going there?
31. S2: I think I must *lah*
32. S1: er because there is a <8>conference there and my<8/> yeah and my supervisor er how to say ask me to send an abstract and they ac- accept
33. S4: <8>but it's a () qualitative *lah*<8/>
34. S3: it's o- eh why don't you have er some coffee you can drink some coffee
35. S4: coffee
36. S1: no thank you @@@
37. S3: it's okay *lah* er I this day I don't drink coffee
38. S1: yes yes (.) doctor you want some more?
39. S2: mm? hm
40. S1: huh? try *la* doctor
41. S3: not spicy
42. S2: they import by er by plane or by ship?
43. S1: erm=
44. S3: =maybe by by ship *la*=
45. S4: really? (.) I haven't tried it there yet
46. S1: really (.) yeah mostly expensive than [place]
47. S4: tsk up to you *la* it's my first time

Again, there is the declarative construction for a question in Line 27: 'you don't pre- e:r you don't present any paper right' and Line 38: 'yes yes (.) doctor you want some more?'

There is also the use of 'this day' for 'today' in Line 37: 'it's okay *lah* er I this day I don't drink coffee', which is one of the characteristics observed in English in ASEAN. In addition, the particle *lah/la* is used by the Thai and Burmese speakers even though it is said to be of Malay or Chinese origin (*see* section on particles below) in Line 40: 'huh? try *la* doctor' and no Malaysian academics are present in this discussion.

In Example 3, the speakers are from Myanmar, Thailand, Vietnam and Philippines, all residing temporarily in Malaysia. The conversation between

speakers from three ASEAN countries appears to be about some work one of them is doing on the computer.

Example 3

S1 is Burmese, S2 is Thai, S3 is Vietnamese and S4 is Filipino

- 48. S2: why is it disabled
- 49. S1: tsk so how ah
- 50. S2: okay lah remove it lah
- 51. S1: how to remove it
- 52. S3: but each <spel>a s c</spel> has its own target
- 53. S2: oh yeah it's same with Vietnam lah
- 54. S2: you're still learning about excel
- 55. S3: no because some some this one I have to make from the scratch so see all these er tsk all the: er foreigner lah
- 56. S2: mhm
- 57. S3: so I have to make sure it's actually reflective of this one
- 58. S2: so you create from er from this book lah
- 59. S3: ah

There is the simplification of a question 'So what do we do?' in Line 49: 'so how *ah*' which has particle *ah* indicating it is a question. Although particles such as *lah* and *ah* are distinctive features of Malaysian and Singapore English, they are found regularly in the English of speakers from other ASEAN countries. The particles show emotive value when they are tagged on to a sentence. It is common for Malaysians and Singaporeans to use particles in English such as particles *meh*, *lor*, *ah*, *hor*, *ma* and *leh*; in more casual settings, *la* is considered to be 'the most salient' (Besemeres and Wierzbicka 2003: 13). Wong's work on Malaysian English found *la* to be 'the most well-known particle in colloquial Malaysian English' (1983: 142). In addition, Bell and Ser (1983: 12) regard it as 'a stereotype of Singapore speech'.

In the data, *la(h)* occurs in phrase- or sentence-final positions and it has been said 'to indicate emotive, affective attitudes of the speaker' (Tongue 1974: 83, as cited in Wong 1983: 140). It can function to emphasize, to convey an informal style, to signal intimacy, to persuade, deride, wheedle, reject and so on (Wong 1983). Below are examples from Example 3:

- 60: okay lah remove it *lah*
- 61: oh yeah it's same with Vietnam *lah*
- 62: so you create from er from this book *lah*

Similarly, Kwan-Terry (1978: 22) notes that *lah* conveys 'certain emotive attitudes on the part of the speaker', and context indicates these attitudes. Two forms of *la* can be distinguished depending on intonation used – the stressed or protracted form of *la* and the unstressed or contracted form. 'While the former is said to express emphasis, obviousness, persuasion, uncertainty, consultativeness

and an explanatory or conciliatory attitude, the latter conveys impatience, irritation and authority' (Azirah, Kaur and Tan 2016: 236). The use of *lah* in Example 3 above belongs to the former.

Azirah, Kaur and Tan (2016: 241) discussed another feature, interjections, that was also found in the data taken from the Asian Corpus of English, usually found in Malaysian and Singaporean Englishes.

Example 4 below depicts exchanges between speakers who are neither Malaysian nor Singaporean but they use the interjections *aiya* and *aiyo* to express feelings that are negative in their use of English.

Example 4

S1 is Vietnamese, S2 is Thai and S3 is Indonesian.

63. S1: yeah every year they add up one right
 64. S2: yeah correct
 65. S1: but I for me I have only fifteen fixed already *aiyo* so sad(.) okay
 66. S2: @@@@ okay
 67. S3: so you have to wait until the rain stop
 68. S1: *aiyoh* how can you wait until how you know that the rain gonna stop or not

In Example 4, S1, who is Vietnamese, informs S2, who is Thai, that her annual leave is fixed and therefore, unlike him (S2), she does not get a yearly increment of one day. Her use of *aiyo*, which precedes 'so sad', emphasizes her feelings of disappointment with this situation. In another conversation, this time with an Indonesian interlocutor (S3), S1 again uses *aiyoh* to express impatience with the idea of having to wait for the rain to stop before being able to leave for home. The speakers here show an ability to use interjections that are usually found in Malaysian and Singapore Englishes in appropriate contexts to express feelings and emotions. This is similar to the use of particle *la* as indicated above.

In Example 5 below, the speakers are from the Philippines and Vietnam. They are talking about one of them working on a public holiday.

Example 5

S1 is Filipino and S2 is Vietnamese.

69. S1: alright it's already you can collecting the data right
 70. S2: yeah
 71. S1: alright so today is public holiday why you are not you are not taking day off
 72. S2: i: because yesterday i i did not come to work
 73. S1: oh really
 74. S2: s-
 75. S1: what happened
 76. S2: er i changed my off supposedly today i changed it to yesterday
 77. S1: but normally you are off on a weekend what
 78. S2: yeah but erm since we have a public holiday right we h have er day off
 79. S1: mhm=

80. S2: =for that day for today
81. S1: oh oh
82. S2: so instead of using today
83. S1: mhm
84. S2: it's yesterday
85. S1: so but you sti- w- w- will be working here will be: off on: weekend right

There appears to be non-understanding on the part of S1. However, the conversation proceeds smoothly with S2 repeating and rephrasing herself about why she is working on the public holiday in Lines 69, 71 and 72. In general, there appear to be few disruptions even though the speakers are from different ASEAN countries. Although there were a few instances where one or more participants did not understand something, they do not stop the flow of the communication. Even with a lack of understanding with one or more interlocutors, the conversation seemed to progress successfully through repetition and rephrasing as in the second part of the above example, Example 4.

There appear to be commonalities such as reduction and simplification and signs of localization that may be maintained and would point to common forms in English in ASEAN. We have only provided examples of a limited number of features of ASEAN ELF in our data here such as treating an uncountable noun as plural, non-marking of the third person singular, flexible use of definite and indefinite articles and questions in the form of declaratives with particles. Researchers have given listings of features of varieties of English in Southeast Asia and of ELF in ASEAN (e.g., Lim 2004; Dayag 2012; Low 2012; Kirkpatrick 2010). Several grammatical features that were frequently realized as non-standard forms are pronouns, noun phrases, verb phrases (tense and aspect, modal verbs, verbal morphology), adverbs, negation, agreement, relativization, complementation, discourse organization and word order. Scholars have debated on the presence of non-standard grammatical features in varieties and the possible reasons for them. As our data has shown, some features or patterns of language use in some national varieties may also be seen across a continuum across the ASEAN nations; we have illustrated this especially with how particles are used. More research will have to be done to look deeper into this.

We had briefly mentioned that the kind of English that should be taught in ASEAN needs to be re-considered. The majority of ASEAN speakers will only interact in English with other ASEAN speakers in general with whom they may share common first languages and some with whom they do not. We had pointed to commonalities in terms of features that appear to be found in the interactions of ASEAN speakers. With this in mind, when we design the English language curriculum in and for ASEAN we may need to determine what features have to be given emphasis and what features can be given less focus. We have mentioned the influence of the more established stable varieties of English on others that may be due to capacity-building activities, English language trainers who are from Malaysia, Singapore or Brunei. Kirkpatrick (2018) identified five principles of a lingua franca approach for ASEAN, which include making local multilinguals,

who are suitably trained, to be models for English teachers. The English curriculum should also encourage students to learn the cultures from ASEAN countries rather than the native speaker's culture. Here are some ways on how this can be implemented. ASEAN countries should work together to promote exchanges of English teachers in ASEAN, thereby increasing familiarity with each other's forms of English. A body of English language teachers in the region should be set up to discuss issues pertaining to ELT and this should be a forum that brings together applied linguists and teachers. The cultures of the region, which is very diverse and rich, should be incorporated into English teaching materials; this will encourage understanding of each other's culture and norms. In terms of assessment, students would be assessed in how well they are able to use English in an ELF context rather than native speaker competence. Just as there is a need for more research to be done to examine commonalities in English spoken in ASEAN, there is also a need for more research into ELF-related applied linguistics topics in the ASEAN context (Azirah 2019).

8 Language policy and language education

This chapter deals with the language and language-in-education policies in the ten ASEAN countries. We will describe the national, regional and international language ecologies and discuss the challenges faced in implementing language policies in the countries of the region, in particular, in relation to English and English language education. We will also mention attempts at implementing policies towards the use of mother tongues and local languages as can be seen happening in a number of countries. Tupas (2018: 150) discusses regional issues concerned with the push for English and for ‘internalisation and global competitiveness’, on the one hand, and bi/multilingual education initiatives for ‘literacy development, language maintenance and educational equity’, on the other.

We begin with the former Anglophone colonies, i.e., Singapore, Malaysia, the Philippines and the former protectorate Brunei, which have all retained a strong position of English. It has a stronger base there than in those countries where English has only recently become the first foreign language, as in Cambodia, Thailand, Laos, Indonesia and Vietnam. In the first group, English is either the sole medium of instruction (MoI), such as in Singapore, or one of a few main media of instruction, such as in Malaysia and the Philippines. In the second group, English has been given more emphasis now, especially after the formation of the ASEAN Community in 2015. There have been debates in these countries about when English should be introduced in schools and whether that would be at the expense of local languages. As for its uses, English is used in a small number of public domains such as foreign trade and tourism although globalization and economic growth have greatly encouraged a widening of its use.

We will discuss emerging trends and explore relevant approaches that can be adopted. We turn specifically to differences between national and ASEAN policies and policy issues.

Signs of the nativization of English and first language interferences are visible everywhere. Local varieties of English in such complex multilingual and function-differentiated settings have become present especially in former colonies (*see* Chapters Four to Six; Azirah and Leitner 2014; Leitner 2014). Debates about norms in English in these countries are no longer about learning and following British, American or Australian English norms any more as English is identified as one of the languages in the Southeast Asia (SEA) habitat.

Conflicting demands for national policies versus ASEAN needs

All SEA countries except Thailand attained independence in the period of the 1940s and 1950s (Brunei was a British Protectorate until 1984) and are at different stages of nation-building. They all aspire to become integrated nations and regional and global players. There are no straightforward answers to the conflicting demands of this situation in language and education policies. How should local languages be used to assist in nation-building and what should be done in relation to the one (or more) former colonial languages and the need (or mere desirability) of specific foreign languages? Especially, what should be the policy or policies regarding the English language, the varieties that are emerging as well as local languages in multilingual language habitats? These are pertinent but not easy questions that all nations have been faced with. The demands of (local) nation-building and regional integration of ASEAN and globalization have led to conflicting answers especially with regard to local habitats and English.

English has unanimously been considered a vehicle of empowerment and participation. It has been called a ‘neutral’ language in Singapore, a language not loaded with ethnic or communal demands, and one that can serve multiple functions as second, foreign and even first language. It is the ‘lingua franca’ across Asia and not just SEA and it has gained the domain of international relations where it plays a dynamic role in regional communication. It has gone hand in hand with economic growth. Apart from these consensual attitudes, its position in the ten countries varies considerably. ASEAN has increased the pressure to reduce language policy debates to the national and local languages that have been given some status (e.g., in education) versus English. As a consequence, national education systems have taken measures to close or narrow the English proficiency gap between ASEAN’s member states. With the pressure on the teaching and learning of English, there is the urgent need to examine the place of mother tongues in their multilingual habitats. Kosonen (2017) examined the issue of choosing one or more media of instruction in language policies in each of the SEA countries to determine the extent to which multilingual education is practised. In general, Cambodia, Vietnam and the Philippines have pluralistic policies and use non-dominant local languages as languages of instruction. Brunei, Lao, Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore use the national and official languages as languages of instruction. The implementation of multilingual policies in many countries remains unclear, however, and we will mention this in the description of each country below.

Knowledge of English is central to a country’s competitiveness, a point that has been stressed in earlier chapters. For example, the Philippines workforce is favoured on the international market due to the English language skills of its workforce. The Philippines is also known for its offshore call centres and ‘it is precisely this industry that has compelled many schools in the country to specifically accommodate call centre needs, thus contributing to a view of education that is focused mainly on the teaching of market-driven and practical language “skills”’ (Tupas 2014: 8). Countries with lower levels of proficiency and less

access to information and technology like Cambodia and Laos realize that their economic growth and competitiveness could be better if they invested more in this area and if they redirected the focus of education systems away from creating or preserving a national identity by strengthening their national language(s). But deficiencies abound everywhere and all countries are trying to juggle local needs, national priorities and the available resources against global demands.

The academic environment at all levels of the education systems increases the role of English vis-à-vis the national and local languages, as we have seen above. National governments have to empower students through English to help them gain access to higher education and entry into an increasingly globalized job market. The possibility of creating a lingua franca form of English in the ASEAN region is quite real and desirable (Tan and Sathiram 2014; Kirkpatrick 2014; Bigalki and Sharbawi 2015). English also facilitates mobility across borders. In the ASEAN context, national governments design policies to increase the number of international students who come from the region, especially as there is a growing focus on encouraging domestic students to study in the region rather than in a traditionally popular destination such as the UK, the USA and Australia. But what should SEA countries do with regard to nation-building with typically a multitude of local languages?

A survey of national policies

We will turn to national language policies and as before divide the countries into Outer Circle countries (former colonies of English-speaking nations) and Expanding Circle countries (former colonies of other nations or never colonized) (Kachru 1988). To facilitate the section, we list some issues that all countries have or have had to address:

1. choice of a national language
2. defining the role of former colonial languages
3. selection of English and (or) other foreign languages
4. implementation (or not) of multilingual policies
5. addressing norms in foreign language teaching, teacher training and materials production or importation

We will begin with the Outer Circle countries, i.e., Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei and the Philippines. While Myanmar was once a British colony, its isolation from the rest of the world, which was described in Chapter Three, has led to a situation that makes it more appropriate to discuss later in this chapter. So we start with Malaysia, where English was introduced in the maritime region during the 17th century. As Malay was the lingua franca at the level of trade, international relations and government there, the EIC fell in line. English-medium schools were established by the British starting in 1824 when they established the Straits Settlements of Penang, Malacca and Singapore. Such schools were mainly for the elite and they aimed to create a workforce that could assist the colonial administration. During this time, many migrant workers were brought in from China and India

and vernacular schools were opened to cater for their children. A survey indicated that in 1925 there were 29,000 children in Malay vernacular schools, 15,000 in Chinese vernacular schools, 8,000 in Tamil vernacular schools and 14,000 in English-medium schools (Kirkpatrick 2010: 22). Recommendations for medium of instruction were put forward in the 1950s and 1960s and it was the Razak Report of 1956, which became the Education Ordinance of 1957, and which gave the country the kind of schools it still has today: the national and national-type school systems with the former using Malay as the medium of instruction and the latter using Chinese and Tamil. International schools normally teach in English.

With Malaysia's independence in 1957, the Federation of Malaya, i.e., Malaysia's former name for Peninsular Malaysia, inherited a number of different languages and dialects: Malay and its dialects, a number of indigenous languages, and the languages and dialects of the Chinese and Indian communities. When the two states Sabah and Sarawak joined in 1963 to form Malaysia, they added to the existing complexity with indigenous languages, Iban, Kadazan and Dusun, and other languages and dialects.

From independence, the government had been successful with its efforts to strengthen the position of the Malays and the Malay language. Article 152 of the Constitution made Malay the official and sole national language. The use of English, it says, would be phased out after ten years unless the government made a different ruling. Article 153 defined the function of other ethnic languages in greater detail and referred to the safeguarding of 'the legitimate interests of other communities' without mentioning any language explicitly. Although there was and still is a multitude of Chinese dialects and Indian languages, Mandarin and Tamil were foregrounded as representative of the communities who were allowed to continue their own 'National Type' schools where these two vernacular languages were used as the media of instruction (MoI). This state-of-affairs and the language rights of Chinese and Indians with Mandarin and Tamil was consensual and amounted to the continuation of a well-established tradition from colonial times.

After serious race riots in 1969, the National Economic Policy was implemented, which led to the gradual implementation of Malay or Bahasa Malaysia as the medium of instruction in all schools (Azirah 2009; Kirkpatrick 2010). A university, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia (National University of Malaysia), which would use only Malay as its medium of instruction, was established in 1970, while the other universities were required to shift from English to Malay-medium instruction. Malaysia was, in other words, quite successful in reducing the role of English and promoting its local language, Malay, to the position of an active national language. By the 1980s, Malay was the medium of instruction in all schools and public institutes of higher education. After several years, the sole promotion of Malay was judged to be unsatisfactory. The competence in English of many people had declined so much that many graduates from local universities became virtually monolingual in Malay and were often unable to secure jobs in multinational organizations and businesses as they could not meet their requirements. That was a new and an acute new problem, a barrier in securing jobs in

an environment where the private sector was expanding and where competition in the region was increasing (Darmi and Albion 2013). Restricting language use to Malay was also seen to have had a negative impact on business in the country and to have discouraged foreign investors. Businesses and sections of a (growing) middle-class public were complaining and called for the re-introduction of English. A new policy was announced in 2003 whereby English was re-introduced as the medium of instruction for maths and science from the first year of primary school. However, unlike the implementation of Malay as the medium of instruction, which took place over a 14-year period, the implementation of English for maths and science was drastic and happened without much prior warning. In a very short time, teachers had to find ways to cope with this sudden change and support came in the form of trainers from overseas as well as locally. With this change in policy, the school system went back to a system that was bilingual or trilingual in the national-type schools (Azirah 2009).

After some years of implementation, this itself was judged to be unsuccessful as the performance of children from poorer and rural areas in these subjects was dismal and teachers who taught them were not proficient enough in English. This led to another reversal of the policy and Malay was reinstated as the medium of instruction in 2012 (Asmah 2012; Gill 2012). The ‘national primary schools’ now used Standard Malay as the main language of instruction, whereas the ‘national-type primary schools’ were allowed to use another language such as Mandarin Chinese, Tamil, or an alternative Indian language (David and Govindasamy 2007). If they did not teach in Malay, they had to teach it as a subject. To reinforce the importance of both Malay and English, the government’s Economic Planning Unit implemented under the *Tenth Malaysia Plan for 2011 to 2015* the ‘Upholding *Bahasa Melayu* and Strengthening English’ program during the Plan’s period (p. 201). The objective of the program was to sustain *Bahasa Malaysia* as the official national language and retain it as a medium of unity and solidarity, and simultaneously to enhance English proficiency among Malaysians, to prepare them with a sense of competitiveness and capacity to explore new knowledge at national and international levels (Radzuwan Rashid, Shireena Basree, Abdul Rahman and Kamariah Yunus 2017). This policy was discussed again and proposed to be withdrawn under the past Prime Minister Dr. Mahathir in 2019 and maths and science were to be taught in English once again, a policy reversal that will have unforeseen consequences. Clearly, Malaysia suffers under the ongoing struggle between its adherence to tradition and the modern and global demands to secure access to knowledge. In terms of the efforts in multilingual education, some minority languages are taught in some national-type schools and there are efforts to revive some of them (Kosonen 2016: 7). However, any efforts fall behind the emphasis given to the national language, Malay and English, and the constant debates about how much English should be allowed as MoI in schools.

We now move on to another country which has a similar history to Malaysia but which has taken a different path with its choice of languages and implementation of language policy. Singapore was a British trading post in 1819 and experienced extensive immigration especially from China, South Asia and the Malay

Archipelago. Its strategic location was an asset but made it also an easy target, for instance, during World War II, when the British were defeated there by Japan. Migration and settlement led to extensive multilingualism in a heterogeneous mix of people. Malays became a minority and their position was reduced after the separation from Malaysia in 1965, and as mentioned above, Singapore developed a different language policy stance from Malaysia. For one, the government's focus was to invest in human capital and modernization through rapid industrialization, which made English a necessity. What facilitated the choice of English was that the island did not suffer from Malaysia's conflicts described above. While the same ethnic groups in Singapore are found in Malaysia, the proportion of the three ethnic groups are different. The Chinese make up the majority with over 70% of the population and the Malays and Indians make up much smaller percentages. English could be portrayed as the language for advancement, the means of gaining access to wealth and of accessing western advances. Though English was nobody's first language, it continued to be central to Singapore's economic survival and progress as an independent nation. The government had to respond to the country's demographic and linguistic texture, as well as to its history and geo-political location (surrounded by the Malay language in Malaysia, Brunei and Indonesia).

Despite the value of English, an English-only policy would therefore have been impractical, indeed impossible. The government chose to have four official languages, i.e., Malay, Mandarin, Tamil and English, and one national language, i.e., Malay (Kirkpatrick 2010, 2014). Three of the official languages were to represent the three official communities of 'Chinese', 'Malays' and 'Indians', whether or not they were in fact speakers of any of these languages or used any as a home language. Initially taught as a first language or second language in the Malay, Chinese and Tamil schools, by 1987, English had become the medium of instruction in all schools. In official discourse, the three languages were referred to as 'Mother Tongues' and studied as subjects by all students. They are officially assigned according to the father's ethnicity although hyphenated identities were allowed for children of mixed marriages as of 2011 (Jain and Wee 2019: 272). The mother tongues and English have different functions: English is the language of interethnic communication and of social advancement and globalization. The mother tongues are for intra-ethnic communication and identity markers. Malay is the national language due to its historical position in the region and Singapore being a part of Malaysia before its separation. English continued as the language of governance and law. It served as the language of science and technology, of international trade and commerce and the language of instruction for all schools. English was considered a neutral language. The policy that Singapore adopted was soon referred to as one of 'pragmatic multilingualism' and was a success for English and the country's economy. The policy was, however, less successful with regard to the other languages. Many Chinese dialects have become neglected and ethnic Chinese have difficulty in achieving high levels of literacy in Mandarin (Lim 2015). Many do not speak Chinese dialects anymore. The government launched the Speak Mandarin Campaign in 1979 to promote Mandarin among the

Chinese and replace the dialects with a standard language. The rationale was to unify the Chinese who came from different dialectal groups and clans, reduce the academic burden of the students who would no longer be distracted by dialects and to help preserve Chinese culture (Lim 2015; Jain and Wee 2019: 278). Census data showed that English became the dominant home language and that Mandarin had displaced the other Chinese dialects over time (Lim 2015: 262).

A number of studies have shown that many younger ethnic Chinese Singaporeans adopt English, and with the emphasis placed on Mandarin, have also adopted Mandarin as their main home language (Kirkpatrick 2012; Wee 2010). A notable proportion of children now enter formal education from English-speaking households, though their actual home language is often Singlish, the Singaporean non-standard variety of English. Singapore's bilingual education policy privileges English over any other languages. Education is not education in any two official languages, but rather the creation of English-knowing bilinguals (Pakir 2004, 2007; Lim 2015; Bolton, Botha and Bacon-Shone 2017). There has, however, recently, been some enthusiasm about promoting Chinese dialects as people are made aware of the importance of heritage. Classes for dialects have sprung up as the younger generation make an attempt to study the languages of their elders and videos from the Ministry of Communications and Information have also been produced with official approval (Lim 2015).

Singlish, the informal, local variety, is worth discussing briefly as it points to a very specific and unique feature of Singapore's policy-making and in political discourse. It is specific and unique as no other SEA country discusses the role of developing (informal) local varieties of English and their legitimacy in a nation and in education policies. Should Singlish be tolerated or even promoted as an endo-normative signal of Singapore's identity, as many sociolinguists suggest? Or should it be rejected in favour of the traditional exo-normative model of International Standard English, as the government has advocated for decades (for example, through its Speak Good English Campaign established in 2001) (Chew 2005; Lim 2009; Rubdy 2001)? All other former Anglophone colonies in SEA pursue an exo-normative policy or just ignore local developments of this kind. For the countries in the Expanding Circle, exo-normativity is taken for granted anyway. We saw in Chapter Seven that the possibility and desirability of English as a lingua franca could be an avenue out of this conflict but it would introduce a new cline of variation from a strongly local basilect to a strongly international acrolect with some local features.

Brunei has a similar colonial history to Malaysia and Singapore in that it became a British Protected State in 1888, with a British Resident from 1906 who advised the Sultan, the ruler of the country, on all matters other than those pertaining to religion. For the most part Brunei continued to manage its own affairs, safe in the knowledge that it was protected from outside aggression by Britain. The British Resident provided the same sort of advice to the Sultan and his government that was being given to rulers of the various Malay states that now constitute Malaysia. The residency situation ended with Brunei's independence and entry as a member into ASEAN. After oil was discovered in 1928, Brunei became a wealthy country and like Malaysia and Singapore, it has maintained a close

relationship with Britain that has continued to this day. That relationship has, among other things, greatly shaped Brunei's education system (Jones 2012).

Malaya's independence from Britain in 1957 was followed in 1959 with Brunei gaining greater autonomy from Britain. Local Malay Muslims were appointed to the posts of Chief Minister and State Secretary and Executive and Legislative Councils were formed. It is estimated that a mere 15 languages are spoken in Brunei Darussalam. The Constitution of 1959 stipulates Standard Malay is the official language. Brunei Malay is the first language of most Bruneians and the main language for oral communication but the majority of the population are plurilingual (Noor Azam, McLellan and Deterding 2016).

The tremendous wealth from oil reserves led to widespread education in the country, initially with separate stream schools in the 1960s and 1980s, and then bilingual education from 1985. Brunei's language education policy has been distinctive and different from that undertaken by other countries in the Malay world like Malaysia and Indonesia. The mainstream government primary schools used Malay as the medium of instruction throughout the 1950s to the 1980s while a small number of mission primary schools and government secondary schools had English medium streams. The question of which language should be used as the medium of instruction, however, was fluctuating and was not clearly resolved. The Chinese community had its own schools and used Mandarin as the language medium. Books were supplied from Taiwan. The religious authorities taught a small number of pupils through Arabic while the government schools were divided between English and Malay. Books and other teaching materials were purchased in Britain and Malaysia, respectively. An Education Commission was set up in 1970 and presented the *Report of the Education Commission* in 1972, which called for the implementation of the 1962 Education Policy.

When Brunei gained full independence from the British in 1984, a bilingual language education system was adopted using both Malay and English (Noor Azam, McLellan and Jones 2019: 316). Neither of the languages is indigenous to Brunei – Standard Malay and English. This Dwibahasa (dual-language) policy meant that Malay was used as the medium of instruction until Primary 3 after which Malay was used for some subjects and English for others. From four separate strands of education, Malay, English, Chinese and Arabic, a central dual language policy was formed.

According to Noor Azam, McLellan and Jones (2019: 317), the Dwibahasa system was criticized for placing greater emphasis on English than on Malay and that Malay was considered to be less important than English. In 2009, a new system of education was introduced, called *Sistem Pendidikan Negara Abad ke-21* (SPN21, 'National System of Education for the 21st century'), and from then on mathematics and science have been taught in English from the start of primary school (Jones 2012). This has eliminated the switch in medium for these two subjects, though it remains to be seen if the new system helps improve the overall performance of Brunei children. It seems unlikely that there will be any shift away from this pragmatic and historical practice. It does not seem likely either that any of the country's indigenous languages will be introduced into the school

curriculum. But generally speaking, Brunei's bilingual policy has probably been more successful than elsewhere in ASEAN even though remote areas still have limited access to English. Much may be due to the very small size of the country in terms of population numbers.

The Philippines were a Spanish colony from 1521 to 1888; however, the Spanish language was not widely learnt, it was indeed resented by the Filipinos. Missionaries used native languages with the intention of religious conversion. The Spanish crown changed its policy in the 16th century and attempted to spread Spanish. But due to several factors, this was unsuccessful (Tupas and Lorente 2014: 167). According to Thompson (2003: 16), only a small percentage of people spoke Spanish even after 300 years of Spanish colonization. This small percentage, however, was quite a powerful group as it included the group that called for independence. That did not happen. After Spain was defeated in the Spanish-American War in 1898, the country was colonized by the United States (*see* Chapter Three). Unlike the Spanish, the Americans prioritized education and within a few years, there were 100,000 students in army schools (Thompson 2003: 18). English was introduced and became the *de facto* medium of instruction in schools. Teachers were brought in from the United States. It was through that public school system and the use of English as medium of instruction that English had a very different fate from Spanish. The census figures of 1918 indicated that more than 50% of Filipinos of age ten and above could speak English and 55% could read and write it (Kirkpatrick 2012: 16–17). Tupas and Lorente (2014: 168) cited Gonzales (1980), who gave two reasons why English spread widely and became the most popular foreign language: the positive attitude the Philippines towards Americans and the incentives given in terms of jobs and careers for Filipinos who could speak English. English was needed to participate in the administration and legislation of the country and 'English came to be identified with the "progressive" American ideals of "enlightenment", "democracy" and "self-governance"' (Tupas and Lorente 2014: 168).

Tupas and Lorente (2014: 169–173) provide an overview of language policy in the Philippines. Prior to independence, in 1937, Tagalog was established as the national language for a number of reasons, 'including the fact that it was the language spoken by most of the national leaders' and 'the seat of political government was (and still is) in Manila in Central Luzon, the region in which the majority of people spoke Tagalog as a mother tongue'. The new national language started to be taught in schools from 1940. Unlike Malaya, where Malay was the national language and spoken by all Malays, the vast majority of languages spoken by people in the Philippines meant that no one local language would have been the obvious choice. In 1959, Tagalog was renamed Pilipino arising from sensitivity as to why it was chosen when it was not the language of the majority and amidst accusations of Tagalog imperialism. There was also the problem that the language was not able to deal with intellectual topics in the sciences and social sciences, which before that had Spanish and English as their languages (Draper 2019).

In 1973, Pilipino ceased to be the national language because of differing views among political leaders. Pilipino was renamed Filipino to represent all Filipinos

and not just Tagalog speakers. ‘The National Assembly shall take steps towards the development and formal adoption of a common national language to be known as Filipino’ (see Tupas and Lorente 2014: 170). In the meantime, English and Filipino were designated official languages. Nationalist movements of the 1960s up to the early 1970s were critical of English and led the Philippines to develop its own language policies. A compromise was established in 1974 when bilingual education was established. For the first time, English had to contend with another language as the medium of instruction as the subjects in all schools from grade one through high school would be divided between English and Filipino. A national survey in 1985 found that many schools were only just starting the bilingual switch due to lack of teachers and teaching materials (Thompson 2003: 39).

The most important development after this was the formal introduction of a bilingual education policy (BEP) in 1987 that stipulated the use of English ‘for science and mathematics and Filipino was to be used for all other courses’ (Lorente 2013: 11). This has also been done in Malaysia as described above and Filipino was considered the language of literacy and scholarly discourse while English the international language and the language for science and technology. The role of the two languages was therefore divided into Filipino for local purposes and English for global purposes. English has remained the most dominant language of literacy, despite efforts to widen the domains of Filipino, mainly because of the economic advantage it has to offer. English was seen as the language of global developments and Filipino as the language of national identity. The BEP, though, was eventually blamed for what Filipinos considered a deterioration in literacy. Bilingual education has only had marginal success, with English still dominant in business, politics and the law. To Tupas and Lorente (2014: 173), however, bilingual education did open up ‘resistance to neocolonial dominance in Philippine education through the use of a local language as a language of learning’.

In 2003, there was a return to English as the medium of instruction and efforts were made to permanently institutionalize English; however, no laws were passed. Fears of an ‘English-deprived future’ surfaced through a stronger need for Filipinos to work in global work contexts. Amidst fears of losing English, a new bill was proposed in the Philippine Congress in 2008, which argued for the use of mother tongues, i.e., not just English or Filipino, as the media of instruction in education but also for the use of the first language as the primary medium of instruction from preschool to Grade 6. It acknowledged the multilingual nature of the Philippines and recognized other Philippine languages apart from English and Filipino (Mahboob and Cruz 2013).

This led to the institutionalizing of Mother Tongue-Based Multilingual Education (MTB-MLE) in 2009. Article 1 of this new policy stipulates ‘the superiority of the use of the learner’s mother tongue or first language in improving outcomes’. Through the Enhanced Basic Education Act in May 2013, Filipinos get free education for 13 years, comprising one year of kindergarten and six years each of primary and secondary schooling. Mother tongue language or first language refers to a language or languages first learned by a child who is identified

as a native language user. The regional or native language refers to the traditional speech variety or variety of Filipino sign languages existing in a region, area or place. In other words, ‘the Philippines government has officially recognized the value of local languages as languages of education and this represents a marked shift from the former BEP’ (Kirkpatrick and Liddicoat 2017: 23). Now, mother tongues other than Tagalog have become alternative languages in the debates on medium of instruction. It therefore exposes the weaknesses of bilingual education in that it has marginalized certain groups of people (Tupas and Lorente 2014). English remains the MoI in many primary schools and as teachers are often not well trained and materials are either non-existent or not up to standard, it remains to be seen whether the MTB-MLE policy becomes nationally implemented and with what success (Liddicoat and Kirkpatrick 2017:23).

We now turn to Thailand, a country that was never a colony, as explained in Chapter Three. English was introduced in the 19th century during the reign of Rama III (1824–1851). It was given more attention during Rama IV’s reign (1851–1865), who appointed an English governess to teach English at the royal court. This continued during King Chulalongkorn’s (Rama V) reign, which opened the country to the west, and English has increasingly gained prestige in domains such as the media, tourism and education. Thailand has been categorized as part of the Expanding Circle (Kachru 1992). However, unlike countries that have an Anglophone past and developed nativized varieties of English, there is little evidence of such a Thai variety. Recent studies, however, do indicate the possibility of an emerging variety of Thai English (Bennui and Azirah 2013, 2014; Bennui 2014). Thai is the national language that plays a big role in maintaining homogeneity. English, although getting to be more and more popular, does not threaten the dominant status of the national language nor has it been disassociated from the elite (Fitzpatrick 2011). This is largely due to the international and not intra-national use of the language. As a *lingua franca* in the country, especially in tourism and international trade, English still does not have much relevance to the majority of the population. It may be used increasingly within ASEAN, but not much beyond it (Kirkpatrick 2012; Bennui 2014; Baker and Jarunthawatchai 2017). As the national language, according to government sources, Thai is spoken in some of its forms by almost 100% of the population. While Standard Thai (based on Central Thai spoken in Bangkok) is the *de facto* working and national language, only an estimated 50% of Thai citizens speak Standard or Central Thai as their first language (Kosonen 2013; Kosonen and Person 2014). However, it is spoken throughout the country as a second language. Standard Thai is the language of education, while Thailand’s minority languages are almost entirely excluded from this domain, except in a small number of pilot programs funded by external agencies (Kosonen 2005; Kirkpatrick and Liddicoat 2017). It is estimated that some 70 other local languages are spoken, which does make Thailand a multilingual country but less so than, for instance, Laos. Other major languages are Chinese, Malay, Lao and Khmer (Baker 2008).

In 1921, English was added to the national curriculum starting from Grade 5. In the 1980s, the national curriculum changed from the teaching of English from

Grade 5 to an earlier start in Grade 1 with the reason being that students need to master their first language before they are introduced to a second language. At present, English is a mandatory subject for every Thai student. There is no official second language but English is in practice the *de facto* second language like in Malaysia and the Philippines and it is used in a wide range of domains. As a mandatory subject, it is also the most popular foreign language. Achara Wongsothorn et al. (2002) found English to be the second most commonly used language in the media, after Thai (as shown in Chapter Six), and is followed by Chinese. English exists in the media such as newspapers, TV and radio networks, which cater to international residents and tourists but also for the local population (Baker 2008). Education reform through the National Education Act (NEA) of 1999 brought reforms to improve education standards at all levels and was intended to prepare the nation to compete with other nations in the era of globalization. In this Act, one of the key objectives is the acquisition of ‘Knowledge and skills in mathematics and languages, with emphasis on proper use of the Thai language’. English is never specifically mentioned in the Act. However, the Act states that ‘The Basic Education Commission shall prescribe core curricula for basic education’ and it is in these curricula that English comes to the fore (Darasawang and Todd 2012). The reforms included the aim of making English a compulsory subject for all levels in primary school. Despite the criticisms of the alleged imposition of western methods that were referred to in Chapter Three, the communicative method of teaching became very popular during the 1970s and the education ministry became aware of it. But it took over 20 years for it to be adopted. With a relatively low level of English proficiency among teachers, schools were unable to implement communicative methods effectively. The importance of English as an international language saw an increase in its promotion in the education system. Thailand’s bid to become an education hub and competition for foreign students saw the acceleration in the adoption of English as a medium of instruction in programs offered by higher educational institutes. Leading public universities also began to offer international programs for Thai and foreign students using English as a medium of instruction (Kaur et al. 2016: 348).

Apart from reforms mentioned above, there were other programs and strategies adopted by the Thai government to improve English language teaching and increase the level of English proficiency. International Schools started in 1957 and Thai nationals were allowed to study there for an international curricular such as the International Baccalaureate and the International General Certificate of Education. The Bilingual Program in 1995 established English programs in public and private schools where four core subjects were taught in English. Foreign teachers were brought in to teach these subjects in English. In addition, an Accelerated National Competitive Ability (2006–2010) program focused on developing English communication skills with the help of support organizations such as the English Language Institute (2007). This Institute aims to facilitate and promote English learning. The Ministry of Education also established a language institute at Thammasat University where two major programs are conducted, i.e., an English Course for the General Public (short-term courses for teacher training)

and the Master of Arts Program in Teaching English as a Foreign Language (Darasawang 2007; Kaur et al. 2016). In other words, Thailand is one of the SEA countries where a transition to an academic level is being made to develop local competencies for ELT.

But despite the interest in English, Thailand is also one of the SEA countries that has demonstrated efforts in promoting a few vernacular languages in education. The Thai Constitution of 1997 has allowed for minorities to use their languages and since the late 1990s, the use of vernaculars has increased. For example, ‘the new Thai school curriculum allows teaching of ethnic minority languages in minority areas, allocating up to 30% of the curriculum for minority language study or other local subject matter’ (Thai Ministry of Education 2000) (Kosonen 2005: 134). However, Thailand has changed its approach to education in vernaculars again in recent decades. The first Thai National Language Policy was approved by two different governments in 2010 and 2012 and deals with non-dominant languages (Kosonen 2017: 5). Several projects using the first language in education are being run by academic institutions, non-governmental bodies and the Ministry of Education (Kosonen 2017: 5). On the whole, nation-building efforts have led to many people considering themselves as Thai whatever their ethnolinguistic background.

Former non-Anglophone colonies

We now turn to the countries that were colonized by non-Anglophone countries. Indonesia is the largest and most diverse country in ASEAN with a population of almost 300 million. Although only Bahasa Indonesia has been officially named as the national language, there have been other languages that have played some role in education. During most of the Dutch colonial period (1800–1942), education was not provided much to the Indonesian population. Education of the local population was not a priority to the colonial government though there was recognition of the fact that an educated local elite was needed to support administration. The few secondary schools that existed catered to Dutch children and children of selected locals holding positions in administration. Where education was provided to others, the use of local languages or of Malay, with Dutch being taught as a subject, was typical. However, many Islamic religious schools taught in Arabic and Sanskrit was used in Hindu schools. There were Christian missionary schools as well and they used native languages. Western-style elementary schools were introduced as late as 1907 and English was taught to Indonesians in 1914 when junior high schools were established (Kohler 2019).

Language policy was already debated in 1928, 17 years before independence. Youth organizations called for the renaming of Malay as Indonesian at a political congress and they decided they would use the Indonesian language as the ‘language of unity’ in their fight for an independent country, to be called the Indonesian nation. Indonesian was indeed made the ‘state language’ in the 1945 Constitution, and has since been used as the medium of instruction at all levels of education in the country (Nababan 1991: 120). But before independence

from the Dutch, Indonesian Malay was instituted as the language of instruction during the Japanese occupation (1942–1945) as they prohibited the teaching of English. After their defeat, the Dutch returned and tried to carry on with the curriculum they had used before the war. Though the decline of Dutch had already set in, they were unwilling to retreat. Armed conflicts with Indonesian troops severely disrupted education during the early years of the Republic. Only after the Dutch recognized Indonesia's sovereignty in 1949 and withdrew their troops was Indonesia able to implement its own policies.

Bahasa Indonesia had readily been accepted as the national language in the new republic. That level of unanimity rested on the fact that it was identified with a strong nationalist movement and a desire to create unity among all different ethnic groups. It was not a language of any ethnic group and was only spoken by a very small percentage of the population. In terms of its origin, it was basically Malay (that was used in Malaysia) and had developed strong roots as a regional lingua franca (Kohler 2019: 289). No one had to fear the domination of some ethnic community. The language of the largest community was Javanese with 75 million speakers. That language would have privileged the most powerful ethnic group and was not chosen. More than that, Javanese is characterized by a myriad of politeness markers and respect forms that are not easy to acquire (*see* Chapter Two; Kirkpatrick 2012: 5).

A major educational priority in the 1950s was to improve literacy, understood as literacy in Indonesian, from very low levels. As the only language of instruction, Indonesian precluded other local languages. As the national language, it was

(1) a symbol of nationhood, (2) a conveyor of national identity, (3) an instrument for unifying tribes and communities that have different cultures and languages, and (4) a tool for cross-cultural communication. As official or working language, it was (1) the official state language, (2) the official medium of instruction in educational institutions, (3) the official language for communication at the national level in social and governmental affairs, and (4) the official language for development of culture and the use of science and technology.

(Fuad Hamied 2014: 65)

Dutch was associated with colonialism and as it did not have the international status that English did, the choice of English was determined pragmatically, i.e., English would be most beneficial internationally and inside a heavily multilingual society. High schools could also opt to teach an additional foreign language such as French, German or Arabic. Chinese later gained popularity and is taught in a small number of schools (Julia Eka Rini 2014). English was taught as a foreign language throughout the secondary schools (six years divided into three years of junior high school and three years of senior high school). There has also been a growing tendency in many big cities to begin with English from the lower grades of primary schools and even from kindergarten (Lie 2007). Although English was never used in official domains, it was seen as a global or international language

in trade, business, politics, education and the media (Lauder 2008: 10). Indonesia is the only country of ASEAN that has not made English a compulsory part of the primary curriculum. However, English became a compulsory skill in most university programs. Before finishing higher education, from undergraduate to postgraduate degrees, students are required to take an English proficiency test, usually in the form of the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL). And yet Indonesia is like all other countries where the level of competence in English has generally remained low (Lie 2007; Sitti Syamsinar Mappiasse and Ahmad Johari Bin Sihes 2014). Only students from the middle and upper socioeconomic classes have easy access and the opportunity to enhance their English proficiency beyond that of their peers through private courses, computer-aided language instruction and exposure through Western-influenced TV channels, foreign movies and networks with expatriate communities. Other languages, notably French, Chinese and Japanese, are also taught at the tertiary level, but the number of institutions teaching them and the number of students studying them remains small (Kirkpatrick and Liddicoat 2017). Arabic is taught in Islamic universities, but mainly to students studying courses in religion and Islamic law.

Indonesia followed many continental countries in seeing English as a language that will bring specific knowledge, information and technology, accelerate economic development and a vehicle to secure many types of employment (Lauder 2008: 14). English became the first foreign language. A decree by the Ministry of Education and Culture (No. 096/1967) firmly established English in the curricula for junior and senior high schools in 1967. 'Other European languages – French, German and Dutch – continued to be taught in senior high schools, usually in addition to English' (Kirkpatrick and Liddicoat 2017: 18). A subsequent law in 1989 established English as a compulsory subject in secondary schooling and led to the termination of the teaching of other foreign languages; it was later modified and required only a compulsory foreign language without specifying any particular language. Chinese and Arabic came under this regulation and the former continued to be offered especially in private schools and Arabic in Islamic schools. In spite of English being a compulsory subject, the low level of proficiency mentioned above has been attributed to the insufficient number of teachers, their own poor command and limited professional knowledge as language teachers (Kirkpatrick and Liddicoat 2017: 19).

And yet English has begun to challenge the place of Indonesian as the sole language of instruction. 'International Standard Schools' (Sekolah Bertaraf Internasional (SBI)) started in 2003 and were 'driven by a demand for strong competitive skills in technology, management and human resources in the era of globalization'. These schools had two discipline areas – English and information communication technology – and they used English as the medium of instruction for the teaching of science and mathematics. Those schools, which were mainly available to children from a wealthy background (Kirkpatrick and Liddicoat 2014: 19), were allowed to avoid the use of Indonesian as the normal medium of instruction. English was only officially recognized in 1990 as a subject in the national curriculum of primary schools. English was to be an option from the fourth grade.

In 1993, English was allowed to be taught in primary schools from Grade 4 ‘as an optional local content subject in cases where there was a demand for it in the local community and a qualified teacher was available’ (Kirkpatrick and Liddicoat 2017: 19). In 2012, a new curriculum formulated a macro-skills approach to learning English, which was still a content subject. A year later English became an extracurricular activity in primary schools although it remained unclear what that meant. Unlike its neighbours that have made English an official language or a medium of instruction of some subjects, Indonesia has prioritized the national language albeit giving increasing importance to English (Kirkpatrick and Liddicoat 2017). There have been changes in policy relating to English – in 2000, English was required as a personality development subject, a decade later, it was no longer mandated. A few years later, in 2015, it was announced that English would be a medium of instruction in universities (Kohler 2019: 292). And there were calls to give more weight to English as an international language that could enable Indonesians to compete globally. These constant shifts of the status of English in the education domain remind us somewhat of the uncertainties we saw in Malaysia.

At the same time, the issue of neglect of other local languages has also been highlighted (Rahmi 2015, Kirkpatrick 2012; Kirkpatrick and Liddicoat 2017). Despite the fact that the Constitution guarantees the use and development of non-dominant languages, there have only been a few projects on mother tongue multilingual education (Kosonen 2017: 6). Like in Malaysia and other SEA countries, a string of contradictory language policy demands were translated into the education domain and testify to the overall political and social uncertainty on how to balance the support to the national language, ‘other’ local languages and English.

Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia formed French Indochina prior to independence and are in the group of countries that joined ASEAN in the 1990s. ASEAN regional economic integration is one of the main reasons that have spurred the push for English in these countries in the last few decades. The then Secretary General of ASEAN, Le Luong Minh from Vietnam, had referred to English as ‘the language of our competitive global job market, the lingua franca of ASEAN’ in a speech given in 2013 (<https://asean.org/keynote-address-by-he-le-luong-minh-secretary-general-of-asean-at-the-british-council-conference-on-educating-the-next-generation-of-workforce-asean-perspectives-on-innovation-integration-and-english/>, accessed 30 March 2020).

Vietnam’s very complex past reflects the changing language policies from colonial times to the present. In the 20th century, there were almost simultaneous direct involvements in Vietnam of China, France, Japan, the Soviet Union and the United States. Each one exerted profound influences on language attitudes, language change, language choice and language use (Thin 2007). What is particularly important in the survey of language policy is that Vietnam was divided into the North and the South, formalized at the Geneva Conference. Unification only took place in 1976 at the end of the Vietnam War. The country became a full member of ASEAN in 1995.

France took Vietnam under its control in 1858 and that remained so for 100 years. French was the official language throughout the Indochina period and was taught in selected schools to form a necessary workforce for the colonial government and to transmit French values to the Vietnamese. On independence in 1945, North Vietnam's language policy focused on the rehabilitation of the Vietnamese language. Its Communist orientation led to Russian and Chinese becoming two important foreign languages in education and the public domain while French was sidelined. In South Vietnam, Vietnamese too was promoted but French kept a foothold. After the defeat of France, English was the required language to be taught in school and at university due largely to the involvement of the American troops. Both Vietnamese and English were used in the South during this period. The reunification of Vietnam in 1975 extended the policy of the North to the whole country, with the teaching of Russian being introduced in the South. French and English, which were seen as languages of the enemies, became neglected at this time and Vietnamese was promoted as the language for solidarity and as the language of communication for the different ethnic groups. It continued to be used as the medium of instruction from primary school (Nguyen and Nguyen: 188).

Due to its past experiences, English is generally not widely spoken in Vietnam. There had not been much access to information or broadcasting in English. This changed only in 1986 when the Vietnamese government opened up the country and embarked on economic reforms, known as *doi moi*. That led to a nationwide rush to learn English as English came to be seen as crucial for the development of the country (Phan and Dat Bao 2014). It was during this period that foreign language training developed quite freely in that students had the right to choose the foreign language they wanted. In the north, Russian was still very popular and outnumbered English even though there was increasing numbers for English and French (Thinh 2007). In the south, however, parents were sending children for English classes in the belief that that would prepare them for the future. Foreign investment was more in the south than the north owing to the greater use of English in the south (Nguyen and Nguyen 2019: 185–200).

From the 1990s, with the collapse of the Soviet Union, Russian became unpopular and English became privileged as the main foreign language. It appears that Vietnamese and English have become the two most highly sought languages. Also, as mentioned above, Vietnam joining ASEAN is an impetus for knowing English. Furthermore, the government started a program called 'English 2020' that aimed to get all college graduates to be able to use English by the end of this decade (Kirkpatrick 2012: 8). With so much focus on English, it quickly became the predominant foreign language at all levels of education.

By 1995, about three-quarters of all high school students studied English, with Russian as the next most studied language (16%) and negligible numbers of students studying Chinese or French (0.5% each) (Nguyen 2012). By 2005, English accounted for 99% of the foreign language learning in Vietnamese junior secondary schools, with French, Russian and Chinese accounting for the remainder.
(Kirkpatrick and Liddicoat 2017: 15)

Clearly, Vietnamese language policies have tried to maintain a plurilingual position on foreign language education.

In 2008, the government introduced a new plan for language education for the period 2008–2020, Resolution 1400, that argued for increased learning of English to meet the challenges of internationalization and the importance of English for the country's modernization and industrialization. English was to start earlier in schools, starting from third grade. This was actually already the practice in schools and the Resolution institutionalized it with English an optional subject in primary schools from third grade in 1996. In some places like Ho Chi Minh City, this had already happened by 1998 without qualified teachers. A curriculum for English in primary schools was introduced in 2003 and the target of Resolution 1400 was therefore for all Vietnamese students to study English from Grade 3 to the tertiary level by 2020 (Kirkpatrick and Liddicoat 2014: 15). This project is not without many limitations, the lack of trained teachers and materials being some of them. English will likely continue in its position as the key foreign language that is learnt nationwide to support the government, which generates an increasing demand (Nguyen and Nguyen 2019: 195).

According to Kirkpatrick and Liddicoat (2014: 15), the Vietnamese policy has incorporated minority languages in education; however, much of it has not been implemented. They stated that

the 1946 Constitution recognized the right for minorities to be educated in their own languages (Kosonen 2013). Kosonen argues that this inclusion of minority languages derives from the influence of language policy in the Soviet Union and also the linguistic and cultural diversity of the Communist Party in Vietnam.

In reality, language policy has come increasingly to focus on the provision of the national language for all learners, with little emphasis on implementation for local minority languages. Although written policy statements support the use of non-dominant languages in education, in practice Vietnamese remains the main medium of instruction at all levels (Kirkpatrick and Liddicoat 2017). Three areas that language policies cover in the 21st century are the promotion of the national language, Vietnamese; regulations regarding languages of ethnic minorities; and policies pertaining to foreign language where English takes the prime position (Nguyen and Nguyen 2019: 189). Vietnamese has faced challenges with English made the medium of instruction in several institutions. The government has made Vietnamese compulsory in international schools and ethnic minorities are encouraged to learn Vietnamese from primary school. The language policy implementing Vietnamese in public and private institutions therefore threatens the status of minority languages (Nguyen and Nguyen 2019: 190).

We now turn to today's Cambodia, which emerged as a nation only at the Geneva Conference in 1954. In 1999 Cambodia became a member of ASEAN. Even a brief account of Cambodia's complex history would require too much space so we will just mention a few historical data that have impacted upon language policies. From

the arrival of the French in 1863 to the 1950s, three main languages were used in Cambodia: Khmer, the native language, Pali, the language of Buddhism, and French, the colonial language. The largest ethnic group, the Khmer, make up more than 90% of the population and their language, Khmer, was used in relevant public domains for a long time before independence. But with independence it was made the national and official language. There is a small number of other ethnicities so that an estimated 27 languages are maintained today. Cambodia is among the linguistically least diverse polities in the region (Kosonen 2005).

In education, monastery schools had existed since medieval times and Khmer was the medium of instruction although there was no formal curriculum and teaching methods then. In 1911, a royal decree ordered Khmer to be taught in all schools and a uniform curriculum started to appear in these monastery schools. These schools became public schools and later high schools with Khmer as the medium of instruction. Pali was the second most important language before the French arrived. The French introduced a modern system of education whose curriculum was based on the French system of education. Schools were set up that employed French as the medium of instruction. As the French did not abolish other schools in the country, three types of systems co-existed: the religious schools for Pali, the monastery schools for Khmer and the public schools for French (Thel Thong 1985: 106–107). Subsequent language-in-education planning used to involve these three languages.

Until 1955, French was the language used as the medium of instruction in education, the language of written legislation, of intra-government documents and the language of commerce and banking. Khmer was used in spoken form in government and in commerce. When the French left, they left a heritage of a rigid pro-French language policy. French continued in government and was used by the French-educated Cambodians. Khmer did not have the necessary lexicon for science and technology and committees were set up to enrich the Khmer lexicon (Thel Thong 1985: 112).

In the 1960s, the language of literacy and instruction at all levels of education became Khmer, although some schools reportedly also taught Chinese and Vietnamese as subjects of study. When the Khmer Rouge took over the country, the study of foreign languages was banned and many teachers and educators were killed. In 1979, with the takeover of the country by the Vietnamese, supported by the Soviet Union, Vietnamese and Russian were taught in schools and other foreign languages were banned (Moore and Bouchan 2010). After the withdrawal of the Vietnamese in 1989, English and French were taught again as foreign languages in state schools (Tweed and Mony Som 2015: 16). One can imagine that these frequent changes in the political landscape were not beneficial to the development of a national education system with Khmer or with French. A resolution of the persistent conflicts came with the Paris peace agreement in 1991 and the introduction of a UN-controlled supervisory body and both encouraged the use of English.

The first one was the arrival of the United National Transitional Authority for Cambodia (UNTAC), which oversaw the transition to peace and the creation of

civil society from 1991 to 1992. English and French were UNTAC's working languages but English was used as a lingua franca by that global organization. The second event was Cambodia's membership of ASEAN in 1999. English is the language used as it is ASEAN's working language as stated before. Cambodians were forced to become proficient in English to be able to participate at ASEAN meetings.

Cambodia did not want to be at a linguistic disadvantage. It was keen to be able to participate in economic regional integration and in the mutual recognition agreements in several domains of work. As quoted by Pitsuwan (2012) in Tweed and Many Som (2015: 17), 'It is expected that English, ASEAN's working language, will be used to facilitate communication in these mobile professions'. The Quaker Service of Australia had been the first to carry out fairly large aid programs already before UNTAC came into existence. Teachers of Khmer, Russian and Vietnamese were retrained to be English teachers. This was followed by a UK-funded initiative, Cambodia Secondary English Teaching, that trained 700 teachers and developed ELT pedagogy courses (Tweed and Many Som 2015: 19).

The Constitution of 1993 stipulated that Khmer, the language of the largest group, is the official language. It was the exclusive language of instruction until the late 1990s, when bilingual education programmes were initiated in some minority areas. Some vernaculars have been introduced as languages of literacy and media of instruction in the Eastern highland provinces supported by non-governmental organizations in collaboration with the government. Indigenous minority communities have also played a major role in making their languages the media of instruction. The support of the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports has also been crucial (Kosonen 2005: 127). The Education Law of 2007 enabled the language(s) of instruction in certain minority areas to be chosen by local authorities. In 2013, the Bilingual Education Decree further strengthened the position of non-dominant languages in education. Finally, in 2014, the 'Multilingual Education National Action Plan' (MENAP), which sees the role of the government in the delivery of multilingual education, was adopted in 2015. However, it is not clear to what extent it contributed to multilingual education in schools (Kosonen 2017: 4).

English has become the most preferred foreign language and is seen to be a requisite for a better job or a scholarship from abroad. Parents also want their children to attend English language schools and this is done after regular school hours for those who can afford to send their children to learn English (Igawa 2010). English has also replaced French as the most popular foreign language and is in the highest demand in Cambodia. It is taught from Primary 5 for between two to five hours a week. The Cambodian government also promotes bilingual programmes for speakers of indigenous languages. Cambodia's development from an 'expanding circle' country to one where English is important within the country is evidenced by the fact that English is needed for work in all foreign agencies. While English has been officially taught since 1989, many challenges remain in terms of English language education, such as lack of resources, low salaries for teachers and curricula needing to be revamped.

Laos has been described as landlocked and the smallest SEA country (apart from Brunei and Singapore). Laos has a small yet very diverse population of under seven million people who speak some 230 languages from three language families (*see* Chapter Three). The majority of its population speak Lao, though not all of them as a native language. The government of Laos officially recognizes 49 ethnic groups, the two largest being the Hmong and the Kmhmu. In addition, there are significant numbers of ethnic Vietnamese and Chinese, particularly in urban areas, both recent immigrants and those whose families have lived in Laos for several generations (Elliott 2014: 5). Under the terms of the Franco-Siamese treaty in 1893, the Lao speaking population was divided into two with the majority in northeast Thailand. During the colonial period from 1893 to 1954, French was the language used in education and administration. It was only in 1922 that France established schools with curricula from France in Laos with the purpose of training people for the civil service. The three secondary schools that existed continued to use French until 1944. However, this has over time declined in favour of English (Enfield 2006). The decline of French influence improved the status of Lao and while the communist government that came to power in 1975 put Lao into the education system, literacy rates remained low (Eliot 2014; Meyers 2019).

The first National Curriculum in 1976 did not include foreign languages in primary schools but French and English remained as subjects in secondary schools. French was then recognized as the first foreign language. The National curriculum of 1994 was similar in that there was no foreign language instruction in primary school but several foreign languages (e.g., French, Russian and Vietnamese) as subjects in secondary schools. English was not included as a subject. Ethnic languages for educational purposes were not mentioned in these National Curricula. Besides making practical language policies in the National Curriculum, the new Lao government also established language policy directions in its Party Resolutions and early National Development Plans (Meyers 2019: 208). Enfield (1999) describes the rise of a standardized Lao language variety, which he sees mainly connected with orthography, during the 20th century, as well as the large amount of accent variation across the country. At one time also under the former Soviet Union, it is now a member of ASEAN and increasingly of the global community. It has developed a very active and dynamic economy and its tourism industry is booming as a major economic resource. In 2004, trade relations between Laos and the USA normalized and in 2013, Laos was officially accepted for membership in the World Trade Organization. It has since made great strides with the help of international donors in developing its infrastructure and assuming an expanding role as a member of both the Southeast Asian and world communities. English plays an increasingly important role in the economic development, system of education and integration into Southeast Asia and the world community. Like elsewhere across SEA, English is considered the language of progress and modernization and essential for participating in ASEAN regional integration initiatives.

According to the Constitution of 1991, Lao is the official language. The Education Law of 2007 stipulates Lao as the language in education, while only about a half of the Lao population speak Lao as their first language (Kossonen

2005; Cincotta-Segi, 2011). There is very limited teaching of minority languages, in spite of opposition to Lao among some minorities such as the Hmong (Kosonen 2013, 2019). Nonetheless, there appears to be evidence that vernaculars are used orally in classrooms for explaining subject matter and vernacular material has been produced. For a few years now, some minority children have been provided with classes in Lao as a second language. Yet, in many minority areas, Lao is only used in the school context without adaptation to the language-learning needs of the students, and thus despite this effort, many minority children are not learning Lao sufficiently to perform to their potential in Lao medium schools.

An important milestone in language policy was in the 2008 National Primary Curriculum. English was introduced in Grade 3, not in Grade 6 as in the past for foreign languages, replacing French (Kirkpatrick 2012), which became an optional second foreign language. This showed the priority given to English in the Amended Education Law of 2003 (Meyers 2019: 211). As for foreign languages, a French language curriculum was formally approved in 2010 which left the door open for the study of Chinese, Vietnamese, Japanese or Korean based on local needs and demands (Eliot 2014: 9). In 1996, higher education teacher training and health colleges merged to become the National University of Laos. While Lao was initially the language of instruction, due to limited teaching materials in Lao, French and English are also used. Lao remains as the only written language in schools apart from foreign languages. It appears that literacy development in Laos is explicitly tied to the propagation of the national language and emphasis on teaching ethnic groups, who make up about half or more of the population, to learn Lao rather than in supporting their literacy in their mother tongue (Kosonen 2005:131; Meyers 2019).

Myanmar consists of seven states and seven regions which have had different colonial powers and ancestries prior to British colonization in 1824. Burma, what it was called before, was a multilingual empire which at its height reached as far as Assam and what is now Thailand (McCormick 2019: 243). The languages in the country are therefore variously mixed. Although it was colonized by the British and they brought in English, the status of English is unlike that in the other former colonies. It was used as the official language during the British rule especially for governance, law and education and the language and its literature occupied a significant place in the country during this period. English was commonly used by royal members, scholars and government employees, creating an elite group who spoke English fluently during the British era (1885–1948) (Hnin 2016). Education was state managed and schools used Burmese in basic education schools and English in other government schools.

In the 1920s, the language situation changed. National schools were established with Myanmar as the medium of instruction leading to its restoration. By the 1930s, the University of Yangon established the study of Myanmar and this led to calls for Myanmar to be the language of instruction in all schools. On independence from the British in 1948, Myanmar was used as the medium of instruction for nearly all school subjects. It became the sole language of government administration, mass media and the sole medium of instruction in government

schools (Wong 2005: 94; McCormick 2019: 257). English was banned from being used from 1964 until 1980 and the teaching of English in schools was banned altogether between 1966 and 1980. English later started to be taught from Year 5 but there were problems such as the inadequacy of teaching methods (Hnin Pwint Phyu and Maskanah M. Lotfie 2016: 70). The second education reform in 1980 brought a considerable focus on English but the teaching relied heavily on the native language. The New Education Programme (NEP) was initiated in 1981 and aimed to improve the overall standard of education in the country. English was brought in as a compulsory subject from kindergarten and was the language of instruction at the upper secondary for science subjects and economics. This impacted on English Language teaching and the education system quite considerably (Wong 2005: 95).

The opening up of the country and tourism as well as trade with Asian countries placed pressure on the need for English proficiency and private language centres opened. English is now taught from Primary 1 (Kirkpatrick 2012: 126; Hnin Pwint Phyu and Maskanah M. Lotfie 2016: 70). Due to the presence of international companies, non-governmental organizations and tourists together with changes in the economy, English has been seen to be an asset and increased usage encouraged. Myanmar's membership of ASEAN from 1998 has been significant in pushing for an improvement in English language proficiency. With English the working language of the ten member countries, Myanmar has taken steps to improve its officials' English language skills. It has also got help from its ASEAN neighbours through programmes such as the Malaysian and Singapore Initiatives for ASEAN Integration. SEAMEO Regional Language Centre in Singapore has conducted courses for officers and business people in Myanmar. In addition, international organizations such as the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) have also sponsored programmes on language development skills (Wong 2005: 100). Furthermore, there is now interest in the use of English in universities and departments are allowed to use either English or Burmese, or a combination of both. The main problem is the low level of proficiency of the teachers and a lack of trained English teachers. The revival of interest in English can be seen in that much government paperwork is only in English and many official signs are also in English (McCormick 2019: 252).

The National Education Law of 2014 acknowledges linguistic diversity, yet stipulates only English as a language of instruction along with Myanmar. The Law supports the teaching of non-dominant languages as subjects, and allows local languages to be used orally as auxiliary languages to help non-Myanmar speakers understand the curriculum. Myanmar is in the process of developing a new language education policy, which may see the promotion of local languages as languages of education. McCormick (2019: 254) points to a few factors that make it hard to gauge the direction of language policy with regard to English and mother-tongue based education. There is the view that multilingualism is a problem and that allowing the use of minority languages would lead to separatist sentiments. It is also not clear when ethnic minority issues would get the attention of the government

and that allowing local government to make decisions on language policies would require devolution of power. And finally, teachers are insufficiently trained and teaching materials, books and the curriculum are in need of a major revamp.

Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to review the language and education policies in the ten SEA countries in ASEAN in the context of sociopolitical and linguistic information that is relevant to language policies and the status of local or immigrant languages (*see* Chapter Two). These countries are quite different in their history, demographic make-up, their aspirations since independence and their solutions to the challenges of today in the form of language policies. We will summarize our discussion in the following points that will lead into the next chapters and the discussion of the future of English in the region and its regional organization.

1. All countries have developed *national* language and educational policies.

A few corollaries follow. There is no provision anywhere of the teaching of the national language of a neighbouring country. Thus, Thai or Filipino are only taught in their own country but not, or rarely, in Malaysia, Cambodia, Vietnam or Laos. Equally, Malay is not taught in Thailand (apart from Southern Thailand) let alone in countries further afar. Despite its history as a *lingua franca*, any call to make it an ASEAN working language has been rejected. National policies only consider languages that have entered a country in the course of the recent centuries such as from China or India or ones that reflect ethnic communities. Of the many languages that could be chosen, only dominant or politically relevant languages are selected, such as Chinese Mandarin or Indian Tamil.

2. All countries have promoted a local language as the national language. Singapore has four official languages.

It is here that countries differ quite a lot as there are many local languages that could have been selected but are not for essentially their minority status. Indonesia is an exception as Malay was not the largest language when it was selected. As all policies propagate and expand the selected national language, they amount to a form of bilingualism with English (as we will see presently) and a marginal consideration of other local languages in, for instance, the education domain and when their speakers successfully request their teaching.

3. All countries include in their policies the issues of media of instruction and the choice of foreign languages.

The normal solution to the media of instruction is the choice of the national language. But other (larger) languages may be selected in some regions (as Malay is in southern Thailand) or for some ethnic (and language) minorities such as the Chinese and Indians. This consideration may trigger language shift processes to many students. English is a very frequent choice for the belief that it guarantees participation in the sociopolitical domain, access to jobs and access to knowledge.

But it is normally restricted to some subjects like mathematics and science. And it is not the first (foreign) language in education. The following is a summary of the situation in SEA. Only Singapore has made English the general medium of instruction for a much wider choice of attitudes.

<i>Country</i>	<i>Medium of Instruction</i>	<i>First Foreign Language (Year of Introduction)</i>
Brunei*	Malay and English	English (Primary 1 as MoI)
Burma	Burmese	English (Primary 1)
Cambodia**	Khmer	English (Primary 5) (French also offered)
Indonesia**	Bahasa Indonesia	English (Secondary 1)
Laos	Lao	English (Primary 3)
Malaysia	Malay and Vernaculars	English (from Primary 1)
Philippines	Local languages (until Primary 3)	English (from Primary 1 as MoI)
Singapore	English	Malay/Mandarin/Tamil (Primary 1)
Thailand	Thai	English (Primary 1)
Vietnam**	Vietnamese	English (Primary 3 in selected schools)

* The Arabic script, *Jawi*, is introduced from Primary 3.

** Some bilingual education for minority groups in early primary.
(Kirkpatrick and Liddicoat 2017: 25; Kirkpatrick 2010: 63.)

One can clearly discern a pronounced SEA perspective. But East Asia is not entirely left out. For example, Korean, Japanese and (formerly) Russian have retained some sort of status as foreign languages in some ASEAN countries. European colonial languages such as Dutch, French, Portuguese or Spanish have very little status now unless they are already used widely (as Spanish in the Philippines) or supported by the governments of their origin (as French in former Indochina, Mandarin in Indochina). Other European languages may be offered when such support is available (as German due to the Goethe Institute or similar institutes for French and Mandarin).

4. Regarding the status of English, all countries have taken different paths on the basis of some widely shared attitudes.

Three of the five founding members, i.e., Malaysia, Singapore and the Philippines, were former Anglophone colonies, Thailand was never colonized and Indonesia was a Dutch colony. The early post-independence language policies favoured a local national language, i.e., Malay (in Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia), Tagalog (in the Philippines), Thai (in Thailand) but Singapore made English the most important official language; Malay, Tamil and Mandarin were 'Mother Tongues'. The other founders chose the national language but struggle about the status and use of English especially in education.

English is unanimously seen as an asset and a necessity for progress, of modernity, as the language of access to knowledge and increasingly as mainly the oral language in intra-national and inter-SEA communication. Obviously, there are tensions due to age of acquisition, purpose and orality of written use. There

are different solutions like choosing an educated native speaker norm (mainly International Standard English) or a mildly nativized one that allows changes in pronunciation for as long as they are intelligible internationally, grammar, style and the intrusion of lexical borrowing. Kirkpatrick and many other specialists argue for a lingua franca variety but it has never been codified. When Kirkpatrick (2010) speaks of targeting educated Asian native speakers, it is unclear what this concept means precisely. The question what kind of English is most relevant is barely discussed at length. Singapore officially rejects the local form, i.e., Singlish, and opts for an International Standard norm. From the academic side one can find a range of arguments for moving away from native speaker and even International Standard English norms (Kirkpatrick 2010, 2014) and to ‘Asianize’ the English language, especially if one allows for the oral spectrum of influence and use. The choices can be summed up in four points:

- an exo-normative native-English model such as British, American or (less likely) Australian English or
- a local variety (or Englishes) model, following the Outer Circle concept by Kachru; or
- a SEA lingua franca model (Kirkpatrick 2010, 2012; Seidlhofer 2001)
- or a distinction can be made between speech and writing with the latter tending to use more international Standard English

We will return to this issue in Chapter Nine but before that we will have to discuss the impact of ASEAN.

5. The role of ASEAN

ASEAN was, as stated before, originally founded by five members and comprises, since 1999, all ten SEA countries. Unlike the European Union, which is often referred to as a remote model, ASEAN’s infrastructure is quite lean (Asia-Europe Institute 2017) though the interpretation of its brief has been widening in recent years with three ‘pillars’, i.e., the ASEAN Political and Security Community (APSC), the ASEAN Social and Cultural Community (ASCC) and the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC). Their interpretation has considerable scope to address issues of language habitats and of policies. English was made the sole working language, without discussion, and that was confirmed in its Charter of 2009. That has increased the pressure across all member states for the learning of English in the region’s schools, especially as ASEAN has never taken any steps to develop a regional language policy that defined and promoted its specific needs in English.

At the same time, the Charter strikes a different note when Article 2 says that ASEAN seeks to inculcate ‘respect for the different cultures, languages and religions of the peoples of ASEAN while emphasising their common values in the spirit of unity in diversity’ (Article 2). This implies that ASEAN will have to take a new look at the language education policy to allow for multilingualism and respect for the mother tongues (Kirkpatrick 2014; Kosonnen 2017). The one-nation-one language ideology and the pragmatic rationale for language learning

have combined in many ASEAN nations to exert pressure of language policy that has often conflicted with the multilingual realities of these nations. This has led to the promotion of a few languages as national languages. Yet English has been acknowledged as playing a vital role in the development of an ASEAN identity, as pointed out by the former Secretary General of ASEAN, Le Luong Minh, ‘With the diversity in ASEAN reflected in our diverse histories, races, cultures and belief systems, English is an important and indispensable tool to bring our Community closer together’ (ASEAN 2013).

9 Future of English and future challenges

This book on English in Southeast Asia (SEA) and ASEAN has first traced the development of national language habitats and the evolution of ASEAN as a regional organization. This included the coming and spread of five language families and the implantation of English. We then characterized the birth and development of Englishes and examined the texture of English in specific domains in some of these countries. An account of the rise of a regional lingua franca English followed before we outlined national language policies and their approximation across nations. Finally, we will discuss some issues in the future of SEA English.

We looked at SEA as a cluster of countries at various stages of nation-building. They had to redesign the top level of their language habitat after independence and found a variety of solutions (Leitner 2017). Most of them selected a national language from their local languages heritage like Malaysia, Myanmar, Cambodia or Indonesia have done. The Philippines and Singapore have also made English an official language. Singapore is unique in assigning English the role of the primary working language in a number of domains such as education, giving the large ethnic languages (Mandarin, Tamil and Malay) the role of community languages and having Malay in a second role of national language. Often the education domain permitted several languages as the media of instruction to resolve real or likely conflicts.

English turned out to be crucial in the education domain. It is taught everywhere and all students have to reach a certain level of competency. It is a taught and acquired as a skill that promises access to benefits such as the job market, scientific or technical knowledge, international relations or entertainment. All other languages have a reduced status and very few of them are taught in any other country as a foreign language. ASEAN went further by making English its only working language, which forced massive investments in English Language Teaching across all of its member countries. Foreign language learning, translation and interpretation are undervalued skills as English is expected to be the default language.

Choosing a national language was typically justified by emphasizing the need to build a nation and to promote solidarity between different ethnic groups. In some countries, this was done more or less consensually (as in Malaysia, the Philippines, Thailand and Indonesia). In others, this involved a fair amount of

political pressure as in Myanmar or Laos. None of the choices taken at the top level of a nation's language habitats have ever been or are wholly consensual. How could they be when the scope of the top level has to be agreed upon, when the status and function(s) of a language is associated with so many values, controversial political, ethnic or religious beliefs, or promises? The issue of what support should be given to English as a second or a dominant foreign language came up across all countries in SEA.

We discussed many of these issues in Chapter Eight but turned to the shift from English as a 'new' national variety in former colonies and in non-colonies to that of a lingua franca. That led to a substantially new dimension in the development of English, i.e., a scale of variation from deeply local or localizing varieties of English to a variably localizing form as lingua franca. On a global scale, English has been losing its association with Anglo-American norms and is developing new national and regional patterns in some world regions. In such settings, English is regularly used locally and it increasingly reflects local cultures and norms of its multilingual speakers, their cultural backgrounds and values in its texture.

Given such a variety of issues, one question arises that has not been given much attention: what kind of English should be taught in schools and higher education given that most of the interactions are taking place between speakers from ASEAN countries. Kirkpatrick (2012) rightly maintains that learning objectives, teacher training and curricula will be affected by English as a lingua franca in ASEAN. Should English not be presented as an 'Asian' lingua franca that is spoken by multilinguals who need English to talk to fellow ASEAN speakers? Their performance in multilingual settings should be measured against the norms of other successful Asian multilinguals. Aspirations of wanting to sound native-like no longer exist as strongly as they did in the past even in countries that used to have native speakers as teachers of English. There is the recognition that English will become 'more Asian' in practice and that a 'more Asian perspective' of second language learning in language policies is unavoidable.

An Asian perspective is, of course, not quite a novelty. The fact that English was moving away from native (British and American) speakers and that it was developing local features and norms in former colonies was noticed since the beginning of the last century in Great Britain and the USA. Native English usages (that merged British and American practices into International English) and teaching methods such as the situational method or the communicative approach are often criticized today as 'impositions from the West'. To clarify the history of ELT in Asia, we added some background on the rise of ELT in the 1920s in connection with such remarks in Thailand (*see* Chapter Three). As the major needs of teaching English as a foreign language in Asia and Africa were in lexis and grammar at the time, it may be useful to turn to the nativization in the spoken sphere.

We will begin with a note on an under-researched topic, i.e., the role of the USA and of American English. We referred in various chapters to its engagement in Thailand in the 1830s, its interest in securing free sea traffic to China and Japan, its occupation of Hawaii, the acquisition of the Philippines and Guam and the activities of a commercial company in North Borneo. Of course, the Vietnam

War and its role in the 'forgotten war' in Laos and recent involvements in the South China Sea cannot be ignored. More important for the present context are American missionary activities, education in the Philippines and the increasing propagation of light entertainment in film and music. The impact of American English in SEA should be studied more and beyond the Philippines. One should refer to the British and American initiatives at the *Carnegie Conference* in October 1934 on 'The Use of English as a World Language'.

While that conference does not seem to have addressed issues in spoken English, the BBC wrote in its *Annual Report* of 1961 that

The English language is no longer the private property of the English. It has become an international as well as a national language, and the demand to learn it, goes on growing throughout the world. The BBC is helping to meet the demand.

(*Annual Report*, 1961; quoted in Leitner, 1989: 43)

A year later the report called the BBC the 'largest language teaching operation in the world' and that it reached out to Asia amongst others. The BBC had propagated *Received Pronunciation* (RP) and Standard British English since its foundation and most of all in most of its worldwide programs. Many applied linguists had been concerned with the English language needs of foreigners since the 1950s. Daniel Jones, A.C. Gimson, J.D. O'Connor or J.L.M. Trim had gone further. Trim, for instance, argued that 'If then a particular model is to be chosen, it will be best chosen if it reflects the speaker's position in society in the company he will keep' (1961: 36; quoted in Leitner 1989: 43). This was a very liberal attitude that anticipated the acceptance of educated forms of non-native Englishes. That line of thinking was subsequently specified further and integrated into the BBC, the British Council, Linguaphone Company, Langenscheidt, the Council of Europe and other institutions. Polyaccentualism and polydialectalism, as it was referred to then (Leitner 1989: 52ff) are the forerunners of the current debates about nativized Englishes in SEA and elsewhere.

A common higher education space has emerged in ASEAN through intra-ASEAN mobility. Capacity building in ASEAN involves universities collaborating in aid programmes which lead to partnerships in research, student and staff exchanges and others. English becomes the language of communication and it is likely that more established varieties of English such as *MalE* get transported in these contexts. Research into whether speakers turn to the more stable and developed localized forms of Malaysia, Singapore and the Philippines and use them as easily available role models needs to be carried out. It is likely that in ELF interactions, English will be used more fluidly and changes according to speakers and situations. An ASEAN-wide approach towards standards, the growth of stable language features and the appropriate English curriculum should therefore be encouraged.

We accepted the geo-political division of the region into former Anglophone and non-Anglophone colonies that has led to considerable differences in the status

and texture of English. To meet current global challenges, former non-Anglophone colonies with their exo-normative orientation could have an advantage over former Anglophone colonies provided teaching and learning of English were done well as some European countries like Sweden or the Netherlands show. On the other hand, ASEAN provides considerable exposure to modern SEA forms of English that exert outside exposure and pressure to acceptance. There appear to be regional similarities and intraregional borrowings and processes of integration that lead to some overarching commonalities embedded in a developing ASEAN languages habitat (Leitner 2015; Azirah 2019). Some linguists (e.g., Kirkpatrick 2012, 2014) indeed argue for a regional form of English in SEA and ELF may show reflections of regional properties. It will be of interest to pursue that theme in future research.

As mentioned in earlier chapters, the ASEAN Charter ratified in 2009 declared that ‘the working language of ASEAN shall be English’, a status that is not given to any other language in the region. This is unlike the language policy of the European Union, which recognizes 24 official working languages, which requires translation and interpretation services and is considered too costly. However, it remains to be seen whether the massive investments by ASEAN’s member states into ELT to make over 600 million people in SEA competent in English will be cheaper in the long run. That does not seem to be the case across SEA but even if it were, one would have to assess the losses in local languages.

It will be interesting to see if ASEAN and its members will follow the EU and the Council of Europe to some extent and emphasize the teaching and use of SEA languages in education and cross-border communication as maintained in some ASEAN policy plans. Or if it gives way to the geo-political roadmap suggested, for example, by China’s OBOR (One Belt One Road), which would promote Mandarin – an unlikely option for many nations. Mandarin has considerable power as an ethnic language in the region. In other words, there are forces that affect the manifestations of English and its position overall and that will have repercussions in language policies.

The first issue deals with the need to maintain at least the big local languages, as we can conclude from Pattanayak (2000: 47), who writes, ‘By luring people to opt for globalisation without enabling them to communicate with the local and the proximate, globalisation is an agent of cultural destruction’. Asian citizens may well realize the unhappiness in some European countries like Spain about the relative decline of Spanish or of Luxemburg’s local Luxembourgish. An English-only policy in ASEAN clearly threatens the minority languages. But even bigger and national languages along with their linguistic, cultural and educational rights fare badly. Indigenous language loss is already dramatic, according to Warner (1999: 72). When a language stops being spoken, the world loses a considerable repository of human knowledge. Nettle and Romaine (2000: 14) observe that ‘very language is a living museum, a monument to every culture it has been a vehicle to. It is a loss to every one of us if a fraction of that diversity disappears when there is something that can have been done.’ Of course, the word ‘museum’ signals an unnecessary static connotation. An interesting study by Igawa (2010) on the effect

of English language teaching to Cambodian elementary school children highlights some of the negative effects from teachers' responses to a questionnaire: One teacher deplores the loss of cultural elements in day-to-day greetings. Another example of Cambodian culture is that they have five ways of greetings. They put the two palms together. The positions of their palms vary according to who they greet ... young people now don't know the greetings or they know it but they don't do it ... young people are losing the custom because of Western culture, in which they just say 'Hello'. It could be because they are so complicated. Just saying 'Hi' is easy. It's not only because of western culture and there are many causes for young people's behavior (*sic* Igawa 2010: 153).

Of course, greetings may not seem too important but they go along with the pervasive informality of American, Australian and British English behaviour and the loss of *décor* in traditional societies. Another Cambodian teacher generalized:

Learning a language means to learn about the culture of the language at the same time, for language and culture are something attached together. Thus, learning English at elementary schools can affect the students' understanding of their own culture, for example the way they express themselves, the way they talk, act, think, behave and so on and so forth[sic].

(Igawa 2010: 153)

Indeed, any learning of a language implies culture-learning. The big problem behind all this, we would argue, is that elementary school children cannot keep two systems apart, while adults could. So unless they change as they grow older, children will be drivers of fast cultural change. But there are, of course, other voices like this one:

Personally, despite the bad impacts, I still think that learning English is very important for Cambodian students because our country is still developing and we need English to communicate in many sectors including tourism, business and education (No. C10).

(Igawa 2010: 156)

What these quotations have in common is that their speakers point to the fact that learning English is never a mere skill. If English is absorbed in the process of learning and not just added, it leads to the full or partial loss of one's own culture.

ASEAN therefore faces the challenge of keeping its promise to maintain 'respect for the different cultures, languages and religions of the peoples of ASEAN while emphasising their common values in the spirit of unity in diversity' (ASEAN Charter, Article 2). To what extent have language education policies allowed for multilingualism and respect for the mother tongues? The chapter before this discussed the situation in each ASEAN country and has shown discrepancies in how each country is handling this, some giving it more space than others. For example, a multilingual education policy is found in the Philippines. What is clear is that common to all countries is the pressure to promote the national language and have

a pragmatic second or foreign language policy with English as the most important language promoted widely. This is in conflict with the multilingual realities that exist. ASEAN should work towards a regional policy to ensure that local languages do not die or lose too many domains to English. Foreign language learning of neighbouring or other European languages should be rethought and modernized.

ASEAN countries differ widely in that in some English is considered one of the languages spoken by the locals in some countries while in others it is mainly used with foreigners. What advice, then, can we give pedagogy in a region where English is set in multilingual contexts? And if English is commonly spoken with other ASEAN speakers, then would there be common features that are regularly used by them? There is also the need to take into account English in more formal domains where the requirement is to be linguistically correct internationally in order to be understood and accepted. A shift from native speaker norms to local forms of English is fraught with problems. So what kind of English should be taught in schools and in higher education? Kirkpatrick's (2018) five principles could be followed, especially as most people require English for use with others in the region, and trained local multilinguals would be good models. Whether it would be possible to implement this effectively remains to be seen. That goal may not be totally out of reach if the manifestations of English across the region were studied and compared as we have attempted to do. But Kirkpatrick's principles do not take into account the global dimension of English.

We have looked at the contact-induced changes that have occurred in the varieties of English in the region. We have shown how English in the various countries has been influenced by several languages, for example, Malay, Chinese dialects, Tamil and indigenous languages in Malaysia. Mandarin, Chinese dialects, Malay and Indian languages are prominent 'influencers' in Singapore, Tagalog and Chinese dialects in the Philippines and Thai in Thailand, to give three examples. Across the Muslim majority countries, we have shown the impact of Arabic and how it is growing, especially in Malaysia, Brunei and Indonesia. English in each country has also borrowed extensively from regional languages and from one another. Some of the lexical items have been included in international dictionaries and are used internationally; many others are known only within the national boundaries, and some across boundaries in ASEAN through worker and student mobility, ASEAN meetings, etc. Such data from varieties of English could feed into an ASEAN curriculum to enhance intercultural understanding and materialize that 'Asian perspective' mentioned above. Indeed, there are more speakers of English in Asia than in the biggest native English country in the west, i.e., the USA (Bolton 2012: 18–19). The distribution of English speakers is, of course, quite uneven in the region under consideration. In Singapore, the density of English users is amongst the highest though the population is small with less than six million. There are no ASEAN countries that are smaller than Brunei, which has a little more than 435,000 citizens. Laos has slightly more with 7.28 million. But all other ASEAN members are considerably larger. Notwithstanding, all countries now have English as the most important second or foreign language

and their policies are similar in that they are all promoting English at the top of the national languages habitats. Other local languages are widely neglected. This then leads to the conclusion that ASEAN speakers were multilingual people in the past and are increasingly becoming mainly bilingual – able to speak their national language and English. The ability of an ASEAN speaker to speak other ASEAN languages looks set to disappear over time unless policies that salvage local and ethnic languages are firmly put in place.

We argue that English is developing new domains of use and that an increasing number of Asians are becoming highly proficient speakers of English who are shaping English to their own uses and cultures, allowing them to develop a sense of ownership of the language. English is now an Asian language, both in and of Asia.

This conclusion comes with no sense of triumphalism. On the contrary, the book will conclude with the prediction that, unless regional governments develop holistic and coherent language education policies, it is likely that English will continue to increase its range at the expense of local and regional languages. The region needs to find a way in which English can co-exist with regional languages.

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